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MEMOIRS OF NAPOLEON

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ILLUSTRATIONS.



<i>Napoleon and his Schoolfellows</i>	. . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
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MEMOIRS OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

CHAPTER I.

AN historian will one day arise who will do justice to Bonaparte's merit : as for myself, I do not even pretend to aspire to the honour of being his biographer. I am only about to relate all that I know of this extraordinary man, and which I believe I know well—that which I have seen and heard, and of which I have preserved numerous notes. With confidence I call him an extraordinary man, who, owing everything to himself, acquired the most absolute sway over a great and enlightened nation, obtained so many victories, subdued so many states, distributed crowns to his family, made and unmade kings, and who became nearly the most ancient sovereign in Europe, and who was, without doubt, the most distinguished of his age ; such an individual cannot be called an ordinary man.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. The name was originally written Buonaparte ; but during the first campaign in Italy he dropped the *u*, merely to render the spelling conformable with the pronunciation, and to abridge his signature.

Napoleon was the second son of Charles Marie de Buonaparte, a noble, deputy of the noblesse of Corsica, and Lætitia Ramolino, his wife ; there were five brothers, Joseph, Napoleon, Lucien, Louis, and Jerome ; and three sisters, Eliza, Caroline, and Pauline. Five others must have died in infancy, for we are informed that his mother had thirteen children, and became a widow at the age of thirty.

Bonaparte was undoubtedly a man of good family. His father was poor, and he himself received his education at the public expense, an advantage of which many honourable families availed themselves. A memorial, addressed by his father, Charles Buonaparte, to M. de Segur, then Minister of War, states that his fortune had been reduced by an attempt to drain the salt marshes, and by the injustice of the Jesuits, by whom he had been deprived of his inheritance.

Bonaparte and I were nine years old when our friendship commenced. We soon became very intimate, for there was a certain sympathy of heart between us. I enjoyed this intimacy and friendship without interruption until 1784, when he was transferred from the military school at Brienne to that of Paris. I was one of those youthful companions who could best accommodate themselves to his stern and severe character. His natural reserve, his disposition to meditate on the subjugation of Corsica, and the impressions which he had received in his youth respecting the misfortunes of his country and of his family, led him to seek solitude, and rendered his general demeanour somewhat disagreeable ; but this was more in appearance than in reality. Our equality of age placed us together in the classes of languages and mathematics. His ardent desire to acquire knowledge was remarkable from the very commencement of his studies. When he first came to the college he only spoke the Corsican dialect, from which circumstance he already excited a lively interest. The Sieur Dupuis, then vice-principal, a gentleman of

polished manners and an excellent grammarian, undertook to give him lessons in the French language. His pupil repaid his care so well, that in a very short time he had also learned the first rudiments of Latin. But to this language he had such an aversion, that in his fifteenth year he was still in the fourth class. In the Latin I left him very speedily ; but I could never get before him in the mathematical class, in which, in my opinion, he was, beyond dispute, the ablest in the whole school. I used sometimes to help him with his Latin themes and versions ; and in return he assisted me in the solution of problems, which he demonstrated with a readiness and facility that perfectly astonished me—but to themes and translations he had a great aversion.

At Brienne, Bonaparte was remarkable for the dark colour of his complexion, which the climate of France afterwards very much changed, as well as for his piercing and scrutinizing glance, and for the style of his conversation both with his masters and companions. His conversation almost always bore the appearance of ill-humour, and he was certainly not very sociable.

The temper of the young Corsican was not improved by the railleries of the students, who were fond of ridiculing his name, Napoleon, and his country. He has often said to me, " I will do these French all the mischief in my power : " and when I have endeavoured to pacify him, he would say, " But you never insult me ; you love me. "

Father Patrauld, our mathematical professor, was much attached to Bonaparte, and he had great reason to be proud of him as a pupil. The other professors, in whose classes he was not distinguished, took little notice of him. He had no taste for the study of languages, polite literature, or the fine arts ; and as there were no indications of his ever becoming a scholar, the pedants of the establishment were inclined to consider him stupid.

Though Bonaparte had seldom reason to speak well

of his fellow-students, yet he was above complaining against them ; and when in his turn he had to see to the performance of any duty which they neglected, he preferred to go into confinement himself than to denounce the culprits.

On his arrival at the military school of Paris, he found the whole establishment on so brilliant and expensive a footing, that he immediately addressed a memorial on the subject to the Vice-principal Berton. He showed that the system of education was pernicious, and far from being calculated to fulfil the object which every wise government must have in view. He complained that the mode of life was too expensive and delicate for "poor gentlemen," and could not prepare them for returning to their modest homes, or for the hardships of the camp. Instead of the numerous attendants by whom they were surrounded, their dinners of two courses, and their horses and grooms, he suggested that they should be obliged to perform the little necessary services, such as brushing their clothes, for themselves, and that they should eat the coarse bread made for soldiers. Temperance and sobriety, he added, would render them robust, and enable them to bear the severity of the seasons, to brave the fatigues of war, and to inspire the respect and obedience of the soldiers under their command. Thus reasoned Napoleon at the age of sixteen, and time showed that he never departed from these principles. The establishment of the military school at Fontainebleau is a positive proof of this.

Napoleon, being of a restless and observing disposition, speaking his opinion openly and with energy, did not remain long at the military school of Paris. His superiors, annoyed by the decision of his character, hastened the period of his examination, and he obtained the first vacant sub-lieutenancy in a regiment of artillery. As for myself, I left Brienne in 1787, and proceeded in the following year to Vienna, with a letter of recom-

mendation to M. de Montmorin, soliciting employment in the French embassy, then at the Court of Austria. After having been initiated in the first steps of diplomacy, I was advised by M. de Noailles to go to one of the German universities, to study the law of nations and foreign languages. I accordingly repaired to Leipsic.

In the month of April, 1792, I returned to Paris, where I again met Bonaparte, and renewed the friendship of our youthful days. I had not been fortunate, and adversity pressed heavily upon him ; his resources frequently failed him. We passed our time as two young men of three-and-twenty may be supposed to have done, who had little money, and less occupation. He was worse off in this respect than myself ; we started some new project every day, and were on the lookout for some profitable speculation, but everything failed us. At this time he was soliciting employment from the minister of war, and I at the office for foreign affairs. I was, for the moment, the more fortunate of the two.

While we were thus spending our time in an unprofitable manner, the 20th of June arrived—a sad prelude to the 10th of August. We met, by appointment, at a restaurateur's, in the Rue St. Honoré, near the Palais-Royal. On going out we saw a mob approaching, in the direction of the market-place, which Bonaparte estimated at from five to six thousand men. They were a parcel of blackguards, armed with weapons of every description, and shouting the grossest abuse, whilst they proceeded at a rapid rate towards the Tuileries. This mob appeared to consist of the vilest and most profligate of the population of the suburbs. "Let us follow the rabble," said Bonaparte. We got the start of them, and took up our station on the terrace, bordering the river. It was there that he was an eye-witness of the scandalous scenes that ensued ; and it would be difficult to describe the surprise and indignation which they excited in him. Such weakness

and forbearance, he said, could not be excused ; but when the king showed himself at a window which looked out upon the garden, with the red cap, which one of the mob had just placed upon his head, he could no longer repress his indignation. "What madness !" he loudly exclaimed ; "how could they allow that rabble to enter ? Why do they not sweep away four or five hundred of them with the cannon ? Then the rest would take themselves off very quickly."

When we sat down to dinner, he discussed with great good sense the causes and consequences of this unrepressed insurrection. He foresaw, and developed with sagacity, all that would follow ; and in this he was not mistaken. The 10th of August soon arrived ; as for myself, I received an appointment a few days after the 20th of June, as Secretary of Legation at Stuttgart, to which city I set out on the 2nd of August, and did not again see my young and ardent friend until 1795. He told me that my departure would hasten his own for Corsica ; we separated, with feeble hopes, as it appeared at the time, of ever meeting again. It was after the fatal 10th of August that Bonaparte visited Corsica ; he did not return until 1793.

It was during my absence from France that Bonaparte, in the rank of *chief of battalion*, performed his first campaign, and contributed so powerfully to the taking of Toulon.

The king of France had been put to death on the 21st of January, 1793 ; and in less than a month afterwards the Convention had declared war against England. The murder of the king, alike cruel and atrocious, had in fact united the princes of Europe against the revolutionary cause, and within France itself a strong reaction took place. The people of Toulon, the great port and arsenal of France on the Mediterranean, partook of the sentiments, and invited the English and Spanish fleets off their coast to come to their assistance, and garrison their city. The allied admirals took pos-

session accordingly of Toulon, and a motley force of English, Spanish, and Neapolitans prepared to defend the place. In the harbour and roads there were found about twenty-five ships of the line, and the city contained immense naval and military stores of every description, so that the defection of Toulon was regarded as a calamity of the first order by the revolutionary government.

This event occurred in the midst of that period which has received the name of the *reign of terror*. Whatever else the government wanted, vigour to repel aggressions from without was displayed in abundance. Two armies immediately marched upon Toulon; and after a series of actions, in which the passes in the hills behind the town were forced, the place was at last invested, and a memorable siege commenced.

It was conducted with little skill, first by Cartaux, a vain coxcomb, who had been a painter, and then by Doppet, an ex-physician and a coward. Cartaux had not yet been superseded when Bonaparte made his appearance at headquarters, with a commission to assume the command of the artillery.

Napoleon, on his arrival, found the headquarters at Beausset. The first care of the Commandant of the artillery was to get together a great number of officers in that department, whom the circumstances of the revolution had removed. At the end of six weeks he was enabled to assemble, organize, and supply a park of two hundred pieces of artillery. Colonel Gassendi was placed at the head of the arsenal of constructions at Marseilles. The batteries were advanced, and placed on the most advantageous points of the shore; and their effect was such, that some large vessels were dismasted, several smaller ones sunk, and the enemy were forced to abandon that part of the road.

The Commandant of the artillery, who for the space of a month had been carefully reconnoitring the ground, and had made himself perfectly acquainted with all its

localities, proposed the plan of attack which occasioned the reduction of Toulon.

In a word, he declared that it was not necessary to march against the place at all, but only to occupy the position which he had proposed, and which was to be found at the extreme point of the promontory of Balagnier and l'Eguillette; that he had discovered this position a month before, and had pointed it out to the General-in-chief, assuring him that if he would occupy it with three battalions, he would take Toulon in four days; that the English had become, since he first observed it, so sensible of its importance, that they had disembarked 4,000 men there, had cut down all the wood that covered the promontory of Cair, which commanded the whole position, and had employed all the resources of Toulon, even the galley-slaves, in order to intrench themselves there, making it, as they expressed themselves, "a little Gibraltar;" but that the point, which a month ago might have been seized and occupied without opposition, now required a serious attack; that it would not be advisable to risk an assault, but to form batteries, mounted with twenty-four pounders and mortars, in order to destroy the epaulements, which were constructed of wood, to break down the palisades, and throw a shower of shells into the interior of the fort; and that then, after a vigorous fire for eight-and-forty hours, the work should be stormed by picked troops.

In conformity to the plan proposed, the French raised five or six batteries against Little Gibraltar, and constructed platforms for fifteen mortars.

The Commandant of the artillery threw 7,000 or 8,000 shells into the fort, while thirty twenty-four pounders battered the works. Captain Muiron of the artillery, a young man full of bravery and resources, and who was perfectly acquainted with the position, availed himself so well of the windings of the ascent, that he conducted his troops up the mountain without sustaining any loss. He debouched at the foot of the

fort: he rushed through an embrasure: his soldiers followed him—and the fort was taken. The English and Spanish cannoneers were all killed at their guns, and Muiron himself was dangerously wounded by a thrust from the pike of an English soldier.

As soon as they were masters of the fort, the French immediately turned the cannon against the enemy.

At break of day the French marched on Balagnier and l'Eguillette: the enemy had already evacuated those positions. The twenty-four pounders and the mortars were brought to mount these batteries, whence they hoped to cannonade the combined fleets before noon; but the Commandant of the artillery deemed it impossible to fix them there. The batteries were of stone, and the engineers who had constructed them had committed an error, in placing a large tower of masonry just at their entrance, so near the platforms that whatever balls might have struck them would have rebounded on the gunners, besides the splinters and rubbish. They therefore planted pieces of cannon on the heights behind the batteries. They could not open their fire until the next day; but no sooner did Lord Hood, the English admiral, see that the French had possessed themselves of these positions, than he made signal to weigh anchor and get out of the road.

He then went to Toulon to make it known that there was not a moment to be lost in getting out to sea directly. The weather was dark and cloudy, and everything announced the approach of the Libeccio (or south-west) wind, so terrible at this season. The council of the combined forces immediately met; and, after mature deliberation, they unanimously agreed that Toulon was no longer tenable. They accordingly proceeded to take measures as well for the embarkation of the troops, as for burning and sinking such French vessels as they could not carry away with them, and setting fire to the marine establishments; they likewise gave notice to all the inhabitants, that those who

a very poor description of Toulon

wished to leave the place might embark on board the English and Spanish fleets.

In the night, Fort Ponté was blown up by the English, and an hour afterwards a part of the French squadron was set on fire. Nine seventy-four gun ships and four frigates or corvettes became a prey to the flames.

The fire and smoke from the arsenal resembled the eruption of a volcano, and the thirteen vessels which were burning in the road were like so many magnificent displays of fireworks. The masts and forms of the vessels were distinctly marked by the blaze, which lasted many hours, and formed an unparalleled spectacle. It was a heartrending sight to the French to see such grand resources and so much wealth consumed within so short a period. They feared, at first, that the English would blow up Fort La Malgue, but it appeared that they had not time to do so.

The Commandant of artillery then went to Malbosquet. The fort was already evacuated. He ordered the field-pieces to sweep the ramparts of the town, and heighten the confusion by throwing shells from the howitzers into the port, until the mortars, which were placed upon the road with their carriages, could be planted in the batteries, and shells thrown from them in the same direction.

During all this time the batteries of l'Eguillette and Balagnier kept up an incessant fire on the vessels in the road. Many of the English ships were much damaged, and a great number of transports with troops on board were sunk. The batteries continued their fire all the night, and at break of day the English fleet was seen out at sea. By nine o'clock in the morning a high Libeccio wind got up, and the English ships were forced to put into the Hyères.

The news of the taking of Toulon caused a sensation in Provence and throughout France, the more lively as such success was unexpected and almost unhopèd-for. From this event Napoleon's reputation commenced ; he was

made Brigadier-general of artillery in consequence, and
appointed to the command of that department in the
Army of Italy. General Dugommier was appointed
 Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Eastern Pyre-
 nees.

Sourmireu says Bonaparte
 the appointment of Lt. of Art. in 1788
 and in 1792 he met Bonaparte
 again to find him looking in with
 the French Army at the
 time was run on peculiar lines
 of officers & lieutenant in the
 of officers which Bonaparte's seen
 he in. It also seems rather odd
 but the Army Council should see
 a Lieut. of Artillery the command
 Artillery at Toulon. It is almost
 of due to some influence to
 Bonaparte, as lieutenant must have
 been plentiful, and more experienced
 officers to be sent for the Toulon com-

*The Rep of People put him
in command and then arrest
him - upon what charge?*

CHAPTER II.

AFTER the taking of Toulon, Bonaparte rapidly advanced in his profession. On the 13th of July, 1794, the Representatives of the People, with the Army of Italy, passed the following resolution:—"That General Bonaparte should proceed to Genoa, to confer, in conjunction with the Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic, with the Genoese government, on the matters comprised in his instructions." To the above were added private instructions to inform himself of the state of the fortresses of Genoa and Savona, and of the neighbouring country, and to become acquainted, as far as possible, with the conduct, civil and political, of the French ambassador, Tilly; and to collect all facts which might develop the intentions of the Genoese government relative to the coalition.

He proceeded to Genoa, and there fulfilled the purposes of his mission. The 9th of Thermidor arrived, and the deputies called Terrorists were superseded by Albitte and Salicetti. In the disorder which then existed, they were either ignorant of the orders given to General Bonaparte, or they were inspired by envy at the rising glory of the young general of artillery. Be this as it may, these Representatives of the People issued an order that General Bonaparte should be arrested, suspended from his rank, and arraigned before the Committee of Public Safety; and, extraordinary as it may appear, this resolution was founded on that very journey which Bonaparte executed by order of the Representatives of the People.

On being arrested he addressed a very energetic note to Albitte and Salicetti, which had the effect of causing more particular inquiry to be made ; and on the 20th of August, 1794, they issued a decree, declaring that they saw nothing to justify any suspicion of his conduct, and ordering that he should be provisionally set at liberty. He remained under arrest fifteen days.

The government of the day wished to send him to La Vendée, as Brigadier-general of infantry. Two reasons determined the youthful general to refuse this appointment. He considered the scene of action as unworthy of his talents, and he considered his projected removal from the artillery to the infantry as an insult. The last was that which he officially assigned for his refusal. In consequence of his refusal to accept the appointment offered him, the Committee of Public Safety decreed that he should be struck off the list of general officers in active employment.

Deeply mortified at this unexpected blow, Bonaparte returned into private life, and found himself doomed to an inactivity intolerable to his ardent temperament and youthful energy.

At length he was nominated to the command of a brigade of artillery in Holland ; but as there were indications of an approaching crisis, his services were called for on a nearer and more important field.

The agitation continued till the 13th of Vendemiaire (Oct. 5, 1795), when the storm burst. This day, when the Sections of Paris attacked the Convention, must be considered as influencing, in a remarkable degree, the astonishing destiny of Bonaparte.

The result of this civil contest brought Bonaparte forward and elevated him above the crowd, and shortly after raised him to the command of that army which he ever afterwards led on to victory.

Whilst Commandant of Paris, it is stated that Eugene Beauharnois, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, son of Viscount Beauharnois, who had been a general officer in

the Republican armies, but put to death by Robespierre, presented himself to the general, and requested to have his father's sword restored to him. Bonaparte caused the request to be complied with ; and the tears of the boy, as he received and kissed the relic, excited his attention. He treated the boy so kindly, that next day his mother, Josephine de Beauharnois, came to thank him ; and her beauty and singular gracefulness of address made a strong impression upon him. The acquaintance thus commenced speedily led to their marriage.

Tranquillity was now restored in Paris ; and the Directory had leisure to turn their attention to the affairs of the Army of Italy, which was in a most confused and unsatisfactory condition. They determined to give it a new general, and Bonaparte was appointed to the splendid command.

Bonaparte left Paris on the 21st of March, 1796, and, after paying a short visit to his mother at Marseilles, arrived, after a rapid journey, at the headquarters at Nice. At the age of twenty-six, he assumed the command of the Army of Italy ; exulting in the knowledge that, if he should conquer, the honour would be all his own. He had worked for others at Toulon, at the Col di Tende, and even in the affair of the Sections, as the first command had been nominally in the hands of Barras. Now he was burning with enthusiasm, and resolved to distinguish himself. " You are too young," said one of the Directors, hesitating about his appointment as general. " In a year," answered Napoleon, " I shall be either old or dead." The Directory, who had still some fears as to the youth of Napoleon, proposed, early in May, to appoint General Kellerman, who commanded the Army of the Alps, second in command of the Army of Italy. This was far from being agreeable to Bonaparte ; he wrote to Carnot, on the 24th of May—" Whether I shall be employed here or anywhere else is indifferent to me : to serve my country, and to merit from posterity a page

in our history, is all my ambition. If you join Kellerman and me in the command in Italy, you will undo everything. He has more experience than I, and knows how to make war better than I do, but both together we shall make it badly. I will not willingly serve with a man who considers himself the first general in Europe."

He found the army in numbers about 50,000 ; but wretchedly deficient in cavalry, in stores of every kind, in clothing, and even in food : and watched by an enemy greatly more numerous. It was under such circumstances that he at once avowed the daring scheme of forcing a passage to Italy, and converting the richest territory of the enemy himself into the theatre of war.

"Soldiers," said he, "you are hungry and naked : the Republic owes you much, but she has not the means to pay her debts. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains that the sun beholds. Rich provinces, opulent towns, all shall be at your disposal. Soldiers, with such a prospect before you, can you fail in courage and constancy ?" This was his first address to his army.

The sinking hearts of the men beat high with hope and confidence when they heard the voice of the young and fearless leader ; and Augereau, Massena, Serrurier, Joubert, Lannes—distinguished officers, who might themselves have aspired to the chief command—felt, from the moment they began to understand his character and system, that the true road to glory would be to follow the star of Napoleon.

The objects of the approaching expedition were three—first, to compel the King of Sardinia, who had already lost Savoy and Nice, but still maintained a powerful army on the frontiers of Piedmont, to abandon the alliance of Austria : secondly, to compel the Emperor, by a bold invasion of Lombardy, to make such exertions in that quarter as might weaken those armies which had so long hovered on the Rhine ; and, if possible, to stir up the Italian subjects of that crown to adopt the revolutionary system, and emancipate themselves for

ever from its yoke. The third object, though more distant, was not less important. The influence of the Romish Church was considered by the Directory as the chief, though secret, support of the cause of royalism within their own territory ; and to reduce the Vatican into insignificance, or at least force it to submission and quiescence, appeared indispensable to the internal tranquillity of France.

Napoleon's plan for gaining access to the fair regions of Italy differed from that of all former conquerors : they had uniformly penetrated the Alps at some point or other of that mighty range of mountains ; he judged that the same end might be accomplished more easily by advancing along the narrow strip of comparatively level country which intervenes between those enormous barriers and the Mediterranean Sea, and forcing a passage at the point where the last of the Alps melt, as it were, into the first and lowest of the Apennine range. No sooner did he begin to concentrate his troops towards this region than the Austrian general, Beaulieu, took measures for protecting Genoa, and the entrance of Italy. He himself took post with one column of his army at Voltri, a town within ten miles of Genoa ; he placed D'Argenteau with another Austrian column at Monte Notte, a strong height farther to the westward ; and the Sardinians, under Colli, occupying Ceva—which thus formed the extreme right of the whole line of the allied army. The French could not advance towards Genoa but by confronting some one of the three armies thus strongly posted, and sufficiently, as Beaulieu supposed, in communication with each other.

It was now that Bonaparte made his first effort to baffle the science of those who fancied there was nothing new to be done in warfare. On the 10th of April, D'Argenteau came down upon Monte Notte, and attacked some French redoubts, in front of that mountain and the villages which bear its name, at Monteleghino. At the same time General Cevoni and the French van were

attacked by Beaulieu near Voltri, and compelled to retreat. The determined valour of Colonel Rampon, who commanded at Montelegino, held D'Argenteau at bay during the 10th and 11th : and Bonaparte, contenting himself with watching Beaulieu, determined to strike his effectual blow at the centre of the enemy's line. During the night of the 11th various columns were marched upon Montelegino, that of Cervoni and that of Laharpe from the van of the French line, those of Augereau and Massena from its rear. On the morning of the 12th, D'Argenteau, preparing to renew his attack on the redoubts of Montelegino, found he had no longer Rampon only and his brave band to deal with ; that French columns were in his rear, on his flank, and drawn up also behind the works at Montelegino ; in a word, that he was surrounded. He was compelled to retreat among the mountains : he left his colours and cannon behind him, 1,000 killed, and 2,000 prisoners. The centre of the allied army had been utterly routed, before either the Commander-in-chief at the left, or General Colli at the right of the line, had any notion that a battle was going on.—Such was the battle of Monte Notte, the first of Napoleon's fields.

The very next day after this victory he commanded a general assault on the Austrian line. Augereau, with a fresh division, marched at the left upon Millesimo ; Massena led the centre towards Dego ; and Laharpe, with the French right wing, manœuvred to turn the left flank of Beaulieu.

Augereau rushed upon the outposts of Millesimo, seized and retained the gorge which defends that place, and cut off Provera with 2,000 Austrians, who occupied an eminence called Cossaria, from the main body of Colli's army. Next morning Bonaparte himself arrived at that scene of the operations. He forced Colli to accept battle, utterly broke and scattered him, and Provera, thus abandoned, was obliged to yield at discretion.

Bonaparte rapidly followed up the advantages which

he had gained, and succeeded in separating the Austrian and Sardinian armies. Both were again defeated, and the Sardinian army may be said to have been annihilated in their disastrous retreat; they lost the whole of their cannon, their baggage, and the best part of their troops.

The conqueror took possession of Cherasco, within ten miles of Turin, and there dictated the terms on which the King of Sardinia was to be permitted to retain any shadow of sovereign power.

Thus, in less than a month, did Napoleon lay the gates of Italy open before him. He had defeated in three battles forces much superior to his own; inflicted on them, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, a loss of 25,000 men; taken eighty guns and twenty-one standards; reduced the Austrians to inaction; utterly destroyed the Sardinian king's army; and lastly, wrested from his hands Coni and Tortona, the two great fortresses called "the keys of the Alps,"—and indeed, except Turin itself, every place of any consequence in his dominions. This unfortunate prince did not long survive such humiliation. He was father-in-law to both of the brothers of Louis XVI., and, considering their cause and his own dignity as equally at an end, died of a broken heart, within a few days after he had signed the treaty of Cherasco.

The consummate genius of this brief campaign could not be disputed; and the modest language of the young General's despatches to the Directory lent additional grace to his fame. At this time the name of Bonaparte was spotless; and the eyes of all Europe were fixed in admiration on his career.

Bonaparte, having become master of Piedmont, stopped for a short time to reorganize his army, previous to his descent into Lombardy. He pointed out to his victorious soldiers the rich and extensive plains which spread out before them; and, in an address which he circulated, he reminded them that "Hannibal had forced the Alps, and that we have turned them. You were utterly

destitute, and you have supplied all your wants. You have gained battles without cannon, passed rivers without bridges, performed forced marches without shoes, bivouacked without strong liquors, and often without bread. None but Republican phalanxes, soldiers of liberty, could have endured such things. Thanks for your perseverance! But, soldiers, you have done nothing—for there remains much to do: Milan is not yet ours. The ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trampled by the assassins of Basseville.”

The Austrian general had concentrated his army behind the Po, with the intention of preventing the enemy from passing that great river, and making his way to the capital of Lombardy.

Napoleon employed every device to make Beaulieu believe that he designed to attempt the passage of the Po at Valenza; and the Austrian, a man of routine, who had himself crossed the river at that point, was easily persuaded that these demonstrations were sincere. Meanwhile his crafty antagonist executed a march of incredible celerity upon Placenza, fifty miles lower down the river; and appeared there on the 7th of May, to the utter consternation of a couple of Austrian squadrons, who happened to be reconnoitring in that quarter. He had to convey his men across that great stream in common ferry-boats, and could never have succeeded had there been anything like an army to oppose him. Andreossi (afterwards so celebrated) was commander of the advance guard: Lannes (who became afterwards the Marshal Duke of Montebello) was the first to throw himself ashore at the head of some grenadiers. The German hussars were driven rapidly from their position, and the passage of this great river was effected without the loss of a single man.

Beaulieu, as soon as he ascertained how he had been outwitted, advanced upon Placenza, in the hope of making the invader accept battle with the Po in his rear; but Bonaparte had no intention to await the

Austrian on ground so dangerous, and was marching rapidly towards Fombio, where he knew he should have room to manœuvre. The advance divisions of the hostile armies met at that village on the 8th of May. The Imperialists occupied the steeples and houses, and hoped to hold out until Beaulieu could bring up his main body. But the French charged so impetuously with the bayonet, that the Austrian, after seeing one-third of his men fall, was obliged to retreat, in great confusion, leaving all his cannon behind him, across the Adda. Behind this river Beaulieu now concentrated his army, establishing strong guards at every ford and bridge, and especially at Lodi, where as he guessed (for once rightly) the French general designed to force his passage.

The wooden bridge of Lodi formed the scene of one of the most celebrated actions of the war, and will ever be peculiarly mixed up with the name of Bonaparte himself. It was a great neglect in Beaulieu to leave it standing when he removed his headquarters to the east bank of the Adda; his outposts were driven rapidly through the old straggling town of Lodi on the 10th; and the French, sheltering themselves behind the walls and houses, lay ready to attempt the passage of the bridge. Beaulieu had placed a battery of thirty cannon so as to sweep it completely; and the enterprise of storming it in the face of this artillery, and the whole army drawn up behind, is one of the most daring on record.

Bonaparte's first care was to place as many guns as he could get in order in direct opposition to this Austrian battery. A furious cannonade on his side of the river also now commenced. The General himself appeared in the midst of the fire, pointing with his own hand two guns in such a manner as to cut off the Austrians from the only path by which they could have advanced to undermine the bridge; and it was on this occasion that the soldiery, delighted with his dauntless exposure of

his person, conferred on him his honorary nickname of The Little Corporal. In the meantime he had sent General Beaumont and the cavalry to attempt the passage of the river by a distant ford (which they had much difficulty in effecting), and awaited with anxiety the moment when they should appear on the enemy's flank. When that took place, Beaulieu's line, of course, showed some confusion, and Napoleon instantly gave the word. A column of grenadiers, whom he had kept ready drawn up close to the bridge, but under shelter of the houses, were in a moment wheeled to the left, and their leading files placed upon the bridge. They rushed on, shouting *Vive la République!* but the storm of grape-shot for a moment checked them. Bonaparte, Lannes, Berthier, and Lallemagne hurried to the front, and rallied and cheered the men. The column dashed across the bridge in despite of the tempest of fire that thinned them. The brave Lannes was the first who reached the other side, Napoleon himself the second. The Austrian artillerymen were bayoneted at their guns, before the other troops, whom Beaulieu had removed too far back, in his anxiety to avoid the French battery, could come to their assistance. Beaumont pressing gallantly with his horse upon the flank, and Napoleon's infantry forming rapidly as they passed the bridge, and charging on the instant, the Austrian line became involved in inextricable confusion, broke up, and fled. The slaughter on their side was great, on the French there fell only 200 men. With such rapidity, and consequently with so little loss, did Bonaparte execute this dazzling adventure—"the terrible passage," as he himself called it, "of the bridge of Lodi."

It was, indeed, terrible to the enemy. It deprived them of another excellent line of defence, and blew up the enthusiasm of the French soldiery to a pitch of irresistible daring. Beaulieu, nevertheless, contrived to withdraw his troops in much better style than Bonaparte had anticipated. He gathered the scattered fragments

of his force together, and soon threw the line of the Mincio, another tributary of the Po, between himself and his enemy. The great object, however, had been attained: the Austrian general escaped, and might yet defend Mantua, but no obstacle remained between the victorious invader and the rich and noble capital of Lombardy. The garrison of Pizzighitone, seeing themselves effectually cut off from the Austrian army, capitulated. The French cavalry pursued Beaulieu as far as Cremona, which town they seized; and Napoleon himself marched at once upon Milan.

Bonaparte remained but five days in Milan; the citadel of that place still held out against him; but he left a detachment to blockade it, and proceeded himself in pursuit of Beaulieu. The Austrian had now planted the remains of his army behind the Mincio, having his left on the great and strong city of Mantua, which has been termed "the citadel of Italy," and his right at Peschiera, a Venetian fortress, of which he took possession in spite of the remonstrances of the Doge. This position was the strongest that it is possible to imagine. The invader hastened once more to dislodge him.

The French advanced on the Mincio; and the General made such disposition of his troops, that Beaulieu doubted not he meant to pass that river, if he could, at Peschiera. Meantime, he had been preparing to repeat the scene of Placenza; and actually, on the 30th of May, forced the passage of the Mincio, not at Peschiera, but farther down at Borghetto. The Austrian garrison at Borghetto in vain destroyed one arch of the bridge. Bonaparte supplied the breach with planks, and his men, flushed with so many victories, charged with a fury not to be resisted. Beaulieu was obliged to abandon the Mincio, as he had before the Adda and the Po, and to take up the new line of the Adige.

The Austrian had, in effect, abandoned for the time the open country of Italy. He now lay on the frontier, between the vast tract of rich provinces which Napoleon

had conquered, and the Tyrol. The citadel of Milan, indeed, still held out ; but the force there was not great, and, cooped up on every side, could not be expected to resist much longer. Mantua, which possessed prodigious natural advantages, and into which the retreating General had flung a garrison of full 15,000 men, was, in truth, the last and only Italian possession of the imperial crown which, as it seemed, there might still be a possibility of saving. Beaulieu anxiously waited the approach of new troops from Germany to attempt the relief of this great city ; and his antagonist, eager to anticipate the efforts of the imperial government, sat down immediately before it.

Mantua lies on an island, being cut off on all sides from the mainland by the branches of the Mincio, and approachable only by five narrow causeways, of which three were defended by strong and regular fortresses or intrenched camps, the other two by gates, drawbridges, and batteries. Situated amidst stagnant waters and morasses, its air is pestilential, especially to strangers. The garrison were prepared to maintain the position with their usual bravery ; and it remained to be seen whether the French general possessed any new system of attack, capable of abridging the usual operations of the siege, as effectually as he had already done those of the march and the battle. His commencement was alarming ; of the five causeways, by sudden and overwhelming assaults, he obtained four ; and the garrison were cut off from the mainland, except only at the fifth causeway, the strongest of them all, named, from a palace near it, *La Favorita*. It seemed necessary, however, in order that this blockade might be complete, that the Venetian territory, lying immediately beyond Mantua, should be occupied by the French. In effect, garrisons were placed forthwith in Verona, and all the strong places of that domain. The tricolour flag now waved at the mouth of the Tyrolese passes ; and Napoleon, leaving Serrurier to blockade Mantua,

returned to Milan, where he had important business to arrange.

The King of Naples, utterly confounded by the successes of the French, was now anxious to procure peace, almost on whatever terms, with the apparently irresistible Republic. Nor did it, for the moment, suit Bonaparte's view to condemn his advances. He concluded an armistice accordingly, which was soon followed by a formal peace, with the King of the Two Sicilies; and the Neapolitan troops, who had recently behaved with eminent gallantry, abandoning the Austrian general, began their march to the South of Italy.

This transaction placed another of Napoleon's destined victims entirely within his grasp. With no friend behind him, the Pope saw himself at the mercy of the invader; and in terror prepared to submit. Bonaparte demanded, as the price of peace, and obtained, a million sterling, a hundred of the finest pictures and statues in the papal gallery, a large supply of military stores, and the cession of Ancona, Ferrara, and Bologna, with their respective domains.

He next turned his attention to the Grand Duke of Tuscany: for the present, the Florentine museum and the Grand Duke's treasure were spared; but Leghorn, the seaport of Tuscany and great feeder of its wealth, was seized without ceremony; the English goods in that town were confiscated, to the ruin of the merchants; and a great number of English vessels in the harbour made a narrow escape. The Grand Duke, in place of resenting these injuries, was obliged to receive Bonaparte with all the appearances of cordiality at Florence, and the spoiler repaid his courtesy by telling him, rubbing his hands with glee, during the princely entertainment provided for him, "I have just received letters from Milan; the citadel has fallen;—your brother has no longer a foot of land in Lombardy."

The Austrian government having, in some measure, recovered from the consternation produced by the rapid

destruction of their army under Beaulieu, resolved to make a great effort to recover Lombardy.

Beaulieu had been too often unfortunate to be trusted longer. Wurmser, who enjoyed a reputation of the highest class, was sent to replace him : 30,000 men were drafted from the armies on the Rhine to accompany the new general ; and he carried orders to strengthen himself farther, on his march, by whatever recruits he could raise among the warlike and loyal population of the Tyrol.

The consequences of thus weakening the Austrian force on the Rhine were, for the moment, on that scene of the contest, inauspicious. The French, in two separate bodies, forced the passage of the Rhine—under Jourdan and Moreau ; before whom the imperial generals, Wartensleben and the Archduke Charles, were compelled to retire. But the skill of the Archduke ere long enabled him to effect a junction with the columns of Wartensleben ; and thus to fall upon Jourdan with a great superiority of numbers, and give him a signal defeat. Moreau, learning how Jourdan was discomfited, found himself compelled to give up the plan of pursuing his march farther into Germany, and executed that famous retreat through the Black Forest which has made his name as splendid as any victory in the field could have done.

Wurmser might have learned from the successes of Bonaparte the advantages of compact movement ; yet he was unwise enough to divide his great force into three separate columns, and to place one of these upon a line of march which entirely separated it from the support of the others—in other words, to interpose the waters of the Lago di Guarda between themselves and the march of their friends—a blunder not likely to escape the eagle eye of Napoleon.

He immediately determined to march against the division of Quasdonowich, and fight him where he could not be supported by the other two columns. This could not be done without abandoning for the time the blockade

of Mantua. The guns were buried in the trenches during the night of the 31st July, and the French quitted the place with a precipitation which the advancing Austrians considered as the result of terror.

Napoleon meanwhile rushed against Quasdonowich, who had already come near the bottom of the Lake of Garda. At Salo, close by the lake, and, farther from it, at Lonato, two divisions of the Austrian column were attacked and overwhelmed. Augereau and Massena, leaving merely rearguards at Borghetto and Peschiera, now marched also upon Brescia. The whole force of Quasdonowich must inevitably have been ruined by these combinations, had he stood his ground ; but by this time the celerity of Napoleon had overawed him, and he was already in full retreat upon his old quarters in the Tyrol. Augereau and Massena, therefore, counter-marched their columns, and returned towards the Mincio. They found that Wurmser had forced their rearguards from their posts : that of Massena, under Pigeon, had retired in good order to Lonato ; that of Augereau, under Vallette, had retreated in confusion, abandoning Castiglione to the Austrians.

Flushed with these successes, old Wurmser now resolved to throw his whole force upon the French, and resume at the point of the bayonet his communication with the scattered column of Quasdonowich. He was so fortunate as to defeat the gallant Pigeon at Lonato, and to occupy that town. But this new success was fatal to him. In the exultation of victory he extended his line too much towards the right ; and this over-anxiety to open the communication with Quasdonowich had the effect of so weakening his centre, that Massena, boldly and skilfully seizing the opportunity, poured two strong columns on Lonato, and regained the position ; whereon the Austrian, perceiving that his army was cut in two, was thrown into utter confusion. At Castiglione alone a brave stand was made. But Augereau, burning to wipe out the disgrace of Vallette, forced the position,

though at a severe loss. Such was the battle of Lonato. Thenceforth nothing could surpass the discomfiture and disarray of the Austrians. They fled in all directions upon the Mincio, where Wurmser himself, meanwhile, had been employed in re-victualling Mantua.

Wurmser collected together the whole of his remaining force, and advanced to meet the conqueror. They met between Lonato and Castiglione. Wurmser was totally defeated, and narrowly escaped being a prisoner, nor did he without great difficulty regain Trent and Roveredo, those frontier positions from which his noble army had so recently descended with all the confidence of conquerors. In this disastrous campaign the Austrians lost 40,000; Bonaparte probably understated his own loss at 7,000. During the seven days which the campaign occupied he never took off his boots, nor slept except by starts. The exertions which so rapidly achieved this signal triumph were such as to demand some repose; yet Napoleon did not pause until he saw Mantua once more completely invested.

While he was occupied with restoring quiet in the country, Austria, ever constant in adversity, hastened to place 20,000 fresh troops under the orders of Wurmser; and the brave veteran, whose heart nothing could chill, prepared himself to make one effort more to relieve Mantua, and drive the French out of Lombardy.

He marched from Trent towards Mantua, through the defiles of the Brenta, at the head of 30,000; leaving 20,000 under Davidowich at Roveredo, to cover the Tyrol. Bonaparte instantly detected the error of his opponent. He suffered him to advance unmolested as far as Bassano, and the moment he was there, and consequently completely separated from Davidowich and his rear, drew together a strong force, and darted on Roveredo, by marches such as seemed credible only after they had been accomplished.

The battle of Roveredo (Sept. 4) is one of Napoleon's most illustrious days. The enemy had a strongly in-

*more admired, but Bonaparte
not for his abilities as a commander*

trenched camp in front of the town ; and behind it, in case of misfortune, Calliano, with its castle seated on a precipice over the Adige, where that river flows between enormous rocks and mountains, appeared to offer an impregnable retreat. Nothing could withstand the ardour of the French. Height after height was carried at the point of the bayonet ; 7,000 prisoners and fifteen cannon remained with the conquerors.

Wurmser heard with dismay of the utter ruin of Davidowich ; and doubted not that Napoleon would now march onwards into Germany, and joining Jourdan and Moreau, whose advance he had heard of, and mis-guessed to have been successful, endeavour to realize the great scheme of Carnot—that of attacking Vienna itself. But Napoleon had intelligence which Wurmser wanted. Wurmser himself was his mark ; and he returned from Trent to Primolano, where the Imperialist's vanguard lay, by a forced march of not less than sixty miles performed in two days. The Austrian van was destroyed in a twinkling. The French, pushing everything before them, halted that night at Cismone—where Napoleon was glad to have half a private soldier's ration of bread for his supper. Next day he reached Bassano, where the aged marshal once more expected the fatal rencounter. The battle of Bassano (Sept. 8) was a fatal repetition of those that had gone before it. Six thousand men laid down their arms. Quasdonowich, with one division of 4,000, escaped to Friuli ; while Wurmser himself, retreating to Vicenza, there collected with difficulty a remnant of 16,000 beaten and discomfited soldiers. His situation was most unhappy ; his communication with Austria wholly cut off—his artillery and baggage all lost—the flower of his army no more. Nothing seemed to remain but to throw himself into Mantua, and there hold out to the last extremity, in the hope, however remote, of some succours from Vienna ; and such was the resolution of this often outwitted but never dispirited veteran.

Bonaparte, after making himself master of some scattered corps which had not been successful in keeping up with Wurmser, reappeared once more before Mantua. The battle of St. George (so called from one of the suburbs of the city) was fought on the 13th of September, and after prodigious slaughter, the French remained in possession of all the causeways ; so that the blockade of the city and fortress was thenceforth complete. The garrison, when Wurmser shut himself up, amounted to 26,000. Before October was far advanced the pestilential air of the place, and the scarcity and badness of provisions, had filled his hospitals, and left him hardly half the number in fighting condition. The misery of the besieged town was extreme ; and if Austria meant to rescue Wurmser, there was no time to be lost.

The Austrian Council well knew that Mantua was in excellent keeping ; and being now relieved on the Rhenish frontier, by the failure of Jourdan's and Moreau's attempts, were able to form once more a powerful armament on that of Italy. The supreme command was given to Marshal Alvinzi, a veteran of high reputation. He, having made extensive levies in Illyria, appeared at Friuli ; while Davidowich, with the remnant of Quasdonowich's army, amply recruited among the bold peasantry of the Tyrol, and with fresh drafts from the Rhine, took ground above Trent. The marshal had in all 60,000 men under his orders. Bonaparte had received only twelve new battalions, to replace all the losses of those terrible campaigns, in which three imperial armies had already been annihilated.

Bonaparte heard in the beginning of October that Alvinzi's columns were in motion : he had placed Vaubois to guard Trent, and Massena at Bassano to check the march of the field-marshal ; but neither of these generals was able to hold his ground. The troops of Vaubois were driven from that position of Calliano, the strength of which has been already mentioned, under circumstances which Napoleon considered disgraceful to

the character of the French soldiery. Massena avoided battle ; but such was the overwhelming superiority of Alvinzi, that he was forced to abandon the position of Bassano. Napoleon himself hurried forward to sustain Massena : and a severe *rencontre*, in which either side claimed the victory, took place at Vicenza. The French, however, retreated, and Bonaparte fixed his headquarters at Verona. The whole country between the Brenta and the Adige was in the enemy's hands ; while the still strong and determined garrison of Mantua in Napoleon's rear, rendering it indispensable for him to divide his forces, made his position eminently critical.

His first care was to visit the discomfited troops of Vaubois. " You have displeased me," said he, " you have suffered yourselves to be driven from positions where a handful of determined men might have bid an army defiance. You are no longer French soldiers ! You belong not to the Army of Italy." At these words tears streamed down the rugged cheeks of the grenadiers. " Place us but once more in the van," cried they, " and you shall judge whether we do not belong to the Army of Italy." The General dropped his angry tone ; and in the rest of the campaign no troops more distinguished themselves than these.

Having thus revived the ardour of his soldiery, Bonaparte concentrated his columns on the right of the Adige, while Alvinzi took up a very strong position on the heights of Caldiero, on the left bank, nearly opposite to Verona. In pursuance of the same system which had already so often proved fatal to his opponents, it was the object of Bonaparte to assault Alvinzi, and scatter his forces, ere they could be joined by Davidowich. He lost no time, therefore, in attacking the heights of Caldiero ; but in spite of all that Massena, who headed the charge, could do, the Austrians, strong in numbers and in position, repelled the assailants with great carnage. A terrible tempest prevailed during the action, and Napoleon

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in his despatches endeavoured to shift the blame to the elements.

The country behind Caldiero lying open to Davidowich, it became necessary to resort to other means of assault, or permit the dreaded junction to occur. The genius of Bonaparte suggested to him on this occasion a movement altogether unexpected. During the night, leaving 1,500 men under Kilmaine to guard Verona, he marched for some space rearwards, as if he had meant to retreat on Mantua, which the failure of his recent assault rendered not unlikely. But his columns were ere long wheeled again towards the Adige; and finding a bridge ready prepared, were at once placed on the same side of the river with the enemy,—but in the rear altogether of his position, amidst those wide-spreading morasses which cover the country about Arcola. This daring movement was devised to place Napoleon between Alvinzi and Davidowich; but the unsafe nature of the ground, and the narrowness of the dykes, by which alone he could advance on Arcola, rendered victory difficult, and reverse most hazardous. He divided his men into three columns, and charged at daybreak (Nov. 15) by the three dykes which conduct to Arcola. Augereau headed the first column that reached the bridge of Arcola, and was there, after a desperate effort, driven back with great loss. Bonaparte, perceiving the necessity of carrying the point ere Alvinzi could arrive, now threw himself on the bridge, and seizing a standard, urged his grenadiers once more to the charge.

The fire was tremendous: once more the French gave way, Napoleon himself, lost in the tumult, was borne backwards, forced over the dyke, and had nearly been smothered in the morass, while some of the advancing Austrians were already between him and his baffled column. His imminent danger was observed: the soldiers caught the alarm, and rushing forward, with the cry, "Save the General," overthrew the Germans with irresistible violence, plucked Napoleon from the bog,

*See volume of
Bonaparte's personal*

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and carried the bridge. This was the first battle of Arcola.

This movement revived in the Austrian lines their terror for the name of Bonaparte; and Alvinzi saw that no time was to be lost if he meant to preserve his communication with Davidowich. He abandoned Caldiero, and gaining the open country behind Arcola, robbed his enemy for the moment of the advantage which his skill had gained. Napoleon, perceiving that Arcola was no longer in the rear of his enemy but in his front, and fearful lest Vaubois might be overwhelmed by Davidowich, while Alvinzi remained thus between him and the Brenta, evacuated Arcola, and retreated to Ronco.

Next morning, having ascertained that Davidowich had not been engaged with Vaubois, Napoleon once more advanced upon Arcola. The place was once more defended bravely, and once more it was carried. But this second battle of Arcola proved no more decisive than the first; for Alvinzi still contrived to maintain his main force unbroken in the difficult country behind; and Bonaparte again retreated to Ronco.

The third day was decisive. On this occasion also he carried Arcola; and, by two stratagems, was enabled to make his victory effectual. An ambuscade, planted among some willows, suddenly opened fire on a column of Croats, threw them into confusion, and, rushing from the concealment, crushed them down into the opposite bog, where most of them died. In one of his conversations at St. Helena, he thus told the sequel: "At Arcola I gained the battle with twenty-five horsemen. I perceived the critical moment of lassitude in either army—when the oldest and bravest would have been glad to be in their tents. All my men had been engaged. Three times I had been obliged to re-establish the battle. There remained to me but some twenty-five guides. I sent them round on the flank of the enemy with three trumpets, bidding them blow loud and charge furiously. *Here is the French cavalry!* was the cry; and they took

to flight." The Austrians doubted not that Murat and all the horse had forced a way through the bogs ; and at that moment, Bonaparte commanding a general assault in front, the confusion became hopeless. Alvinzi retreated finally, though in decent order, upon Montebello.

A fourth army had been baffled ; but the resolution of the Imperial Court was indomitable, and new levies were diligently forwarded to reinforce Alvinzi. Once more (January 7, 1797) the marshal found himself at the head of 60,000 ; once more his superiority over Napoleon's muster-roll was enormous ; and once more he descended from the mountains with the hope of relieving Wurmser, and conquering Lombardy. The fifth act of the tragedy was yet to be performed.

Alvinzi sent a peasant across the country to find his way if possible into the beleaguered city of Mantua, and give Wurmser notice that he was once more ready to attempt his relief. The veteran was commanded to make what diversion he could in favour of the approaching army ; and if things came to the worst to fight his way out of Mantua, retire on Romagna, and put himself at the head of the Papal forces. The spy who carried these tidings was intercepted, and dragged into the presence of Napoleon. The terrified man confessed that he had swallowed the ball of wax in which the despatch was wrapped. His stomach was compelled to surrender its contents ; and Bonaparte prepared to meet his enemy. Leaving Serrurier to keep up the blockade of Mantua, he hastened to resume his central position at Verona, from which he could, according to circumstances, march with convenience on whatever line the Austrian main body might choose for their advance.

The Imperialists, as if determined to profit by no lesson, once more descended from the Tyrol upon two different lines of march : Alvinzi himself choosing that of the Upper Adige ; while Provera headed a second army, with orders to follow the Brenta, and then,

striking across to the Lower Adige, join the marshal before the walls of Mantua. Could they have combined their forces there, and delivered Wurmser, there was hardly a doubt that the French must retreat before so vast an army as would then have faced them. But Napoleon was destined once more to dissipate all these victorious dreams. He had posted Joubert at Rivoli, to dispute that important position, should the campaign open with an attempt to force it by Alvinzi, while Augereau's division was to watch the march of Provera. He remained himself at Verona until he could learn with certainty by which of these generals the first grand assault was to be made. On the evening of the 15th of January, tidings were brought him that Joubert had all that day been maintaining his ground with difficulty ; and he instantly hastened to what now appeared to be the proper scene of action for himself.

Arriving about two in the morning (by another of his almost incredible forced marches) on the heights of Rivoli, he, the moonlight being clear, could distinguish five separate encampments, with innumerable watch-fires, in the valley below. His lieutenant, confounded by the display of this gigantic force, was in the very act of abandoning the position. Napoleon instantly checked this movement ; and bringing up more battalions, forced the Croats from an eminence which they had already seized on the first symptoms of the French retreat. Napoleon's keen eye, surveying the position of the five encampments below, penetrated the secret of Alvinzi ; namely, that his artillery had not yet arrived, otherwise he would not have occupied ground so distant from the object of attack. He concluded that the Austrian did not mean to make his grand assault very early in the morning, and resolved to force him to anticipate that movement. For this purpose, he took all possible pains to conceal his own arrival ; and prolonged, by a series of petty manœuvres, the enemy's belief that he had to do with a mere outpost of the French. Alvinzi

swallowed the deceit ; and, instead of advancing on some great and well-arranged system, suffered his several columns to endeavour to force the heights by insulated movements, which the real strength of Napoleon easily enabled him to baffle. It is true that at one moment the bravery of the Germans had nearly overthrown the French on a point of pre-eminent importance ; but Napoleon himself, galloping to the spot, roused by his voice and action the division of Massena, who, having marched all night, had lain down to rest in the extreme of weariness, and seconded by them and their gallant general,* swept everything before him. The French artillery was in position : the Austrian's (according to Napoleon's shrewd guess) had not yet come up, and this circumstance decided the fortune of the day. The cannonade from the heights, backed by successive charges of horse and foot, rendered every attempt to storm the summit abortive ; and the main body of the Imperialists was already in confusion, and, indeed, in flight, before one of their divisions, which had been sent round to outflank Bonaparte, and take higher ground in his rear, was able to execute its errand. When, accordingly, this division (that of Lusignan) at length achieved its destined object, it did so, not to complete the misery of a routed, but to swell the prey of a victorious enemy. Instead of cutting off the retreat of Joubert, Lusignan found himself insulated from Alvinzi, and forced to lay down his arms to Bonaparte. "Here was a good plan," said Napoleon, "but these Austrians are not apt to calculate the value of minutes." Had Lusignan gained the rear of the French an hour earlier, while the contest was still hot in front of the heights of Rivoli, he might have made the 14th of January one of the darkest, instead of one of the brightest days, in the military chronicles of Napoleon.

He, who in the course of this trying day had had three horses shot under him, hardly waited to see Lusi-

* Hence, in the sequel, Massena's title, "Duke of Rivoli."

gnan surrender, but entrusted his friends, Massena, Murat, and Joubert, with the task of pursuing the flying columns of Alvinzi. He had heard during the battle that Provera had forced his way to the Lago di Guarda, and was already, by means of boats, in communication with Mantua. The force of Augereau having proved insufficient to oppose the march of the Imperialists' second column, it was high time that Napoleon himself should hurry with reinforcements to the Lower Adige, and prevent Wurmser from either housing Provera, or joining him in the open field, and so effecting the escape of his own still formidable garrison, whether to the Tyrol or the Romagna.

Having marched all night and all next day, Napoleon reached the vicinity of Mantua late on the 15th. He found the enemy strongly posted, and Serrurier's situation highly critical. A regiment of Provera's hussars had but a few hours before nearly established themselves in the suburb of St. George. This Austrian corps had been clothed in white cloaks, resembling those of a well-known French regiment; and advancing towards the gate, would certainly have been admitted as friends, but for the sagacity of one sergeant, who could not help fancying that the white cloaks had too much of the gloss of novelty about them to have stood the tear and wear of three Bonapartean campaigns. This danger had been avoided, but the utmost vigilance was necessary. The French general himself passed the night in walking about the outposts, so great was his anxiety.

At one of these he found a grenadier asleep by the root of a tree; and taking his gun, without wakening him, performed a sentinel's duty in his place for about half an hour, when the man, starting from his slumbers, perceived with terror and despair the countenance and occupation of his General. He fell on his knees before him. "My friend," said Napoleon, "here is your musket. You had fought hard, and marched long, and your sleep is excusable: but a moment's inattention

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and his own purpose

might at present ruin the army. I happened to be awake, and have held your post for you. You will be more careful another time."

It is needless to say how the devotion of his men was nourished by such anecdotes as these flying ever and anon from column to column. Next morning there ensued a hot skirmish, recorded as the battle of St. George. Provera was compelled to retreat, and Wurmser, who had sallied out and seized the causeway and citadel of La Favorita, was fain to retreat within its old walls in consequence of a desperate assault headed by Napoleon in person.

Provera now found himself entirely cut off from Alvinzi, and surrounded with the French. He and 5,000 men laid down their arms on the 16th of January. Various bodies of the Austrian force, scattered over the countries between the Adige and the Brenta, followed the example; * and the brave Wurmser, whose provisions were by this time exhausted, found himself at length under the necessity of sending an offer of capitulation.

General Serrurier, as commander of the blockade, received Klenau, the bearer of Wurmser's message, and heard him state, with the pardonable artifice usual on such occasions, that his master was still in a condition to hold out considerably longer, unless honourable terms were granted. Napoleon had hitherto been seated in a corner of the tent wrapped in his cloak; he now advanced to the Austrian, who had no suspicion in whose presence he had been speaking, and taking his pen, wrote down the conditions which he was willing to grant. "These," said he, "are the terms to which your general's bravery entitles him. He may have them to-day; a week, a month hence, he shall have no worse. Meantime, tell him that General Bonaparte is about to set out for Rome." The envoy

* Such was the prevailing terror, that one body of 6,000 under Rene surrendered to a French officer who had hardly 500 men with him.

One instance of B's respect for his enemies

now recognized Napoleon; and on reading the paper perceived that the proposed terms were more liberal than he had dared to hope for. The capitulation was forthwith signed.

The loss of the Austrians at Mantua amounted, first and last, to not less than 27,000 men. Besides innumerable military stores, upwards of 500 brass cannon fell into the hands of the conqueror; and Augereau was sent to Paris to present the Directory with *sixty* stand of colours. He was received with tumults of exultation, such as might have been expected, on an occasion so glorious, from a people less vivacious than the French.

The surrender of Provera and Wurmser, following the total rout of Alvinzi, placed Lombardy wholly in the hands of Napoleon; and he now found leisure to avenge himself on the Pope for those hostile demonstrations which, as yet, he had been contented to hold in check.

The panic which the French advance had by this time spread was such that the Pope had no hope but in submission. The peasants lately transformed into soldiers abandoned everywhere their arms, and fled in straggling groups to their native villages. The alarm in Rome itself recalled the days of Alaric.

after the battle of Mantua the French were further from the Pope than ever before

The conduct of Bonaparte at this critical moment was worthy of that good sense which formed the original foundation of his successes, and of which the madness of pampered ambition could alone deprive him afterwards. He well knew that, of all the inhabitants of the Roman territories, the class who contemplated his approach with the deepest terror were the unfortunate French priests, whom the revolution had made exiles from their native soil. One of these unhappy gentlemen came forth in his despair, and surrendering himself at the French headquarters, said he knew his fate was sealed, and that they might as well lead him at once to the gallows. Bonaparte dismissed this person with courtesy, and issued a proclamation that none of the class should be molested; on the contrary, allotting to

each of them the means of existence in monasteries, wherever his arms were or should be predominant.

This conduct, taken together with other circumstances of recent occurrence, was well calculated to nourish in the breast of the Pope the hope that the victorious General of France had, by this time, discarded the ferocious hostility of the revolutionary government against the Church of which he was head. He hastened, however, to open a negotiation, and Napoleon received his envoy not merely with civility, but with professions of the profoundest personal reverence for the holy father. The Treaty of Tolentino (12th Feb. 1797) followed. By this the Pope conceded formally (for the first time) his ancient territory of Avignon; he resigned the legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, and the port of Ancona; agreed to pay about a million and a half sterling, and to execute to the utmost the provisions of Bologna with respect to works of art. On these terms Pius was to remain nominal master of some shreds of the patrimony of St. Peter.

*I. seems that Bonaparte while in Italy
did not suppose himself not only a victor
but also as he is a victor he makes his
national aims, and just as it is the state
in this respect that he treated men surely
a very nation like the French some men,
and was some one in France who was
doing all that he might in the army
and Bonaparte.*

CHAPTER III.

IN the preceding chapter we have given a rapid account of the extraordinary campaign of the Army of Italy, to the Treaty of Tolentino. It is the most splendid and celebrated of which we have any account, and the more remarkable, in having been directed by the surpassing genius of a young hero of six-and-twenty,²⁸ who, with a very inferior force, beat successively the well-appointed armies of the King of Sardinia and the Emperor of Austria. These armies were commanded by their bravest and most experienced generals ;—but no experience was equal to the genius, the vigilance, and activity of Bonaparte. The oldest and most experienced commanders of the Emperor of Austria complained that he set aside all the ordinary rules of war, and would not fight according to system. Bonaparte was an inventor, and disregarded system ; his object was to destroy his enemy, and in this he succeeded in a remarkable manner.

He was now master of all Northern Italy, with the exception of the territories of Venice. He heard without surprise that the Doge had been raising new levies, and that the senate could command an army of 50,000, composed chiefly of fierce and semi-barbarous Sclavonian mercenaries. He demanded what these demonstrations meant, and was answered that Venice had no desire but to maintain a perfect neutrality. After some negotiation, he told the Venetian envoy that he granted the prayer of his masters. “ Be neuter,” said he, “ but see that your neutrality be indeed sincere and perfect.

If any insurrection occur in my rear, to cut off my communications in the event of my marching on Germany—if any movement whatever betray the disposition of your senate to aid the enemies of France, be sure that vengeance will follow; from that hour the independence of Venice has ceased to be.”

More than a month had now elapsed since Alvinzi's defeat at Rivoli; in nine days the war with the Pope had reached its close; and, having left some garrisons in the towns on the Adige to watch the neutrality of Venice, Napoleon hastened to carry the war into the hereditary dominions of the Emperor. Twenty thousand fresh troops had recently joined his victorious standard from France; and at the head of perhaps a larger force than he had ever before mustered, he proceeded to the frontier of the Frioul, where, according to his information, the main army of Austria, recruited once more to its original strength, was preparing to open a sixth campaign—under the orders, not of Alvinzi, but of a general young like himself, and hitherto eminently successful—the same who had already by his combinations baffled two such masters in the art of war as Jourdan and Moreau—the Archduke Charles; a prince on whose high talents the last hopes of the empire seemed to repose.

Bonaparte found the Archduke posted behind the river Tagliamento, in front of the rugged Carinthian mountains which guard the passage in that quarter from Italy to Germany. Detaching Massena to the Piave, where the Austrian division of Lusignan were in observation, he himself determined to charge the Archduke in front. Massena was successful in driving Lusignan before him, as far as Belluno (where a rearguard of 500 surrendered), and thus turned the Austrian flank. Bonaparte then attempted and effected the passage of the Tagliamento. After a great and formal display of his forces, which was met by similar demonstrations on the Austrian side of the river, he suddenly broke up his line and retreated. The Archduke, knowing that the French had been march-

ing all the night before, concluded that the General wished to defer the battle till another day ; and in like manner withdrew to his camp. About two hours after Napoleon rushed with his whole army, who had merely lain down in ranks, upon the margin of the Tagliamento, no longer adequately guarded—and had forded the stream ere the Austrian line of battle could be formed. In the action which followed (March 12) the troops of the Archduke displayed much gallantry, but every effort to dislodge Napoleon failed ; at length retreat was judged necessary. The French followed hard behind. They stormed Gradisca, where they made 5,000 prisoners ; and—the Archduke pursuing his retreat—occupied in the course of a few days Trieste, Fiume, and every stronghold in Carinthia. In the course of a campaign of twenty days, the Austrians fought Bonaparte ten times, but the overthrow on the Tagliamento was never recovered ; and the Archduke, after defending Styria inch by inch as he had Carinthia, at length adopted the resolution of reaching Vienna by forced marches, there to gather round him whatever force the loyalty of his nation could muster, and make a last stand beneath the walls of the capital.

Vienna was panic-struck on hearing that Bonaparte had stormed the Passes of the Julian Alps ; the imperial family sent their treasure into Hungary ; and the Archduke was ordered to avail himself of the first pretence which circumstances might afford for the opening of a negotiation.

That prince had already, acting on his own judgment and feelings, dismissed such an occasion with civility and with coldness. Napoleon had addressed a letter to his Imperial Highness from Clagenfurt, in which he called on him, as a brother-soldier, to consider the certain miseries and the doubtful successes of war, and put an end to the campaign by a fair and equitable treaty. The Archduke replied, that he regarded with the highest esteem the personal character of his corre-

spondent, but that the Austrian government had committed to his trust the guidance of a particular army, not the diplomatic business of the empire. The prince on receiving these new instructions from Vienna perceived, however reluctantly, that the line of his duty was altered ; and the result was a series of negotiations—which ended in the provisional treaty of Leoben, signed April 18, 1797.

On returning from Leoben, Napoleon, without ceremony, seized Venice, changed the established government, and took possession of her territories ; and, at the negotiations of Campo-Formio, he found himself able to dispose of them as he pleased, in compensation for the concessions which had been exacted from Austria. The fate of this republic was now sealed—it disappeared from the list of states without a struggle and without noise. He executed severe revenge. Venice was called upon to pay 3,000,000 francs in gold, and as many more in naval stores ; and to deliver up five ships of war, twenty of the best pictures, and 500 manuscripts.

In their last agony the Venetian Senate made a vain effort to secure the personal protection of the General, by offering him a purse of seven millions of francs. He rejected this with scorn. He had already treated in the same style a bribe of four millions, tendered on the part of the Duke of Modena. Austria herself, it is said, did not hesitate to tamper in the same manner, though far more magnificently, as became her resources, with his Republican virtue. He was offered, if the story be true, an independent German principality for himself and his heirs. "I thank the Emperor," he answered, "but if greatness is to be mine, it shall come from France."

At his own request, I joined Bonaparte at Leoben, on the 19th of April, the day after the signature of the preliminaries of peace. Here ceased my intercourse with him as equal with equal, companion with companion ; and those relations commenced in which I saw him great, powerful, and surrounded with homage and glory.

*An excellent proof
of his wisdom*

In the first conversation which Bonaparte had with me I thought I could perceive that he was dissatisfied with the preliminaries of peace. He had wished to advance with his army upon Vienna, and, before offering peace to the Archduke Charles, he wrote to the Directory that he wished to follow up his successes ; but to be enabled to do so, he wished to be sustained by the co-operation of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and that of the Rhine. The Directory replied that he must not reckon on a diversion in Germany, and that the armies alluded to were not to pass the Rhine. This resolution, so unexpected, obliged him to terminate his triumphs, and renounce, for the present, his favourite project of planting the standards of the Republic upon the walls of Vienna.

We arrived at Milan on the 5th of May. Bonaparte took up his residence at Montebello, a beautiful seat about three leagues from that city. Here commenced the negotiations for the peace, which was terminated at Passeriano.

It was now the month of July, and the negotiations were still protracted, and the obstacles which were continually recurring could only be attributed to the artful policy of Austria, who seemed anxious to gain time. The news which he received at this time from Paris occupied his whole attention. He beheld with extreme displeasure, and even with violent anger, the manner in which the leading orators in the councils, and pamphlets written in a similar spirit, spoke of him, his army, his victories, the affairs of Venice, and the national glory. He regarded with indignation the suspicions which they endeavoured to throw upon his conduct and his ulterior views ; and was furious at seeing his services depreciated, his glory and that of his companions in arms disparaged. On this occasion he wrote to the Directory a very spirited letter, and demanded his dismissal.

At this time it was generally reported that Carnot,

"seems like saluting with peace"

from his office in the Luxembourg, had traced out the plan of those operations by which Bonaparte had acquired so much glory; and that to Berthier he was indebted for their successful execution: and many persons are still of this opinion; but there is no foundation for the belief. Bonaparte was an inventor, and not an imitator. It is true that, at the commencement of these brilliant campaigns, the Directory had transmitted to him certain instructions; but he always followed his own plans, and wrote that all would be lost if he were blindly to put in practice movements conceived at a distance from the scene of action. He also offered his resignation. The Directory, at length, admitted the difficulty of dictating military operations at Paris, and left everything to him—and certainly there was not a movement or operation which did not originate with himself.

Bonaparte was justly of opinion that the tardiness of the negotiations, and the difficulties which incessantly arose, were founded on the expectation of an event which would change the government of France, and render the chances of peace more favourable to Austria. He urged the Directory to put an end to this state of things—to arrest the emigrants, to destroy the influence of foreigners, to recall the armies, and to suppress the journals, which he said were sold to England, and were more sanguinary than Marat ever was.

He had long foreseen the struggle about to take place between the partisans of Royalty and the Republic, and had been urged by his friends to choose his party, or to act for himself; but before deciding, he first thought of his own interest. He did not consider that he had yet done enough to bear him out in seizing the supreme power, which, under existing circumstances, he might easily have done. He was satisfied, for the present, with joining that party which appeared to have the support of public opinion. I know he was determined upon marching to Paris with 25,000 men,

if affairs appeared to take a turn unfavourable to the Republic, which he preferred to Royalty, because he expected to derive greater advantages from it. He carefully arranged his plan of the campaign. He considered that in defending this so-much-despised Directory, he was only protecting a power which appeared to have no other object than to occupy a situation until he was prepared to fill it. His resolution of passing the Alps with 25,000 men, and marching by Lyons upon Paris, was well known in the capital, and everyone was occupied in discussing the consequences of this passage of another Rubicon. Determined on supporting the majority of the Directory, and of combating the Royalist faction, he sent his aide-de-camp, La Valette, to Paris, towards the end of July, and Augereau followed him very shortly after. Bonaparte wrote to the Directory, that Augereau had solicited permission to go to Paris on his own private affairs; but the truth is, that he was sent expressly to urge on the revolution which was preparing against the Royalist party, and the minority of the Directory. Bernadotte was subsequently despatched on the same errand; but he did not take any great part in the affair—he was always prudent.

The Republican members of the Directory were Barras, Rewbell, and La Reveillière. Carnot and Barthelemy were the other two, who were considered favourable to the emigrants, and to the re-establishment of monarchy.

The crisis of the 18th Fructidor (Sept. 5, 1797), which brought a triumph to the Republican party, and retarded for three years the extinction of the pentarchy, presents one of the most remarkable events in its short and feeble existence. The Republican Directors had determined upon arresting those members of the Council of Five Hundred, and of the Ancients, who were obnoxious to them; and to secure their success, they appointed Augereau military commandant, which was the object of Bonaparte's wishes.

At midnight, on the 17th, Augereau despatched orders

to all the troops to march upon the points specified. Before daybreak the bridges and principal squares were planted with cannon. At daybreak the halls of the Council were surrounded, the guards of the Council fraternized with the troops, and forty of the most distinguished members of the Council of Five Hundred, and thirty-four of that of the Ancients, supposed most devoted to Royalty, were arrested, and conducted to the Temple. It was by this means that the new revolution, as it was called, of the 18th Fructidor (Sept. 5, 1797) was effected.

Bonaparte was intoxicated with joy when he heard of the happy issue of the 18th Fructidor. Its results produced the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, and the fall of the Royalist party, which for some months had disturbed his tranquillity. The *Clichians* had objected to receive Joseph Bonaparte, as the deputy for Liamone, into the Council of Five Hundred. His brother's victory removed the difficulty; but the General soon perceived that the victors abused their power, and were again compromising the safety of the Republic, by reviving the principles of revolutionary government.

The Directory were alarmed at his discontent, and offended by his censure. They conceived the singular idea of opposing to him Augereau, of whose blind devotion they had received many proofs; and this general they appointed commander of the Army of Germany. Augereau, whose extreme vanity was notorious, believed himself in a situation to compete with Bonaparte. His arrogance was founded on the circumstance that, with a numerous body of troops, he had arrested some unarmed representatives, and torn the epaulets from the shoulders of the commandant of the guard of the Councils. The Directory and he filled the headquarters at Passeriano with spies and intriguers.

Bonaparte, who was informed of everything, laughed at the Directory, and tendered his resignation, in order that he might be requested to continue in command.

He felt very indignant at this conduct on the part of the Directory, and complained to them with great spirit of the ingratitude which the government had shown to him, and insisted that another should be appointed to succeed him in the command. To these remonstrances the Directory replied without delay, and endeavoured to repel the reproaches of mistrust and ingratitude, of which he had accused them, and to assure him of the entire confidence of the government.

After this event Bonaparte became more powerful, and Austria less haughty and confident. The Directory had before that period been desirous of peace, and Austria, hoping that the events which were expected at Paris would be favourable to her interest, had created obstacles for the purpose of delay. But now she was again anxious for peace ; and Bonaparte, still distrusting the Directory, was fearful lest they had penetrated his secret, and attributed his powerful concurrence on the 18th Fructidor to the true cause—his personal views of ambition. Some of the General's friends also wrote to him from Paris, and, for my part, I never ceased repeating to him, that the peace, the power of making which he held in his own hands, would render him far more popular than the renewal of hostilities, undertaken with all the chances of success and reverse.

These feelings, together with the early appearance of bad weather, precipitated his determination. On being informed, on the 13th of October, at daybreak, that the mountains were covered with snow, he feigned at first to disbelieve it, and leaping from his bed, he ran to the window, and convinced of the sudden change, he calmly said, "What ! before the middle of October ! what a country is this ! well, we must make peace." After having hastily put on his clothes, he shut himself up with me in his closet, and carefully reviewed the returns from the different corps of the army. "Here are," said he, "nearly 80,000 effective men ; I feed, I pay them : but I can bring but 60,000 into the field on the day of

battle. I shall gain it ; but afterwards my force will be reduced 20,000 men, by killed, wounded, and prisoners. Then how can I oppose all the Austrian forces that will march to the protection of Venice ? It would be a month before the armies of the Rhine could support me, if they were able to do so ; and in fifteen days all the roads will be deeply covered with snow. It is settled—I will make peace. Venice shall pay for the expense of the war, and our boundary shall be the Rhine. The Directory and the lawyers may say what they please."

The French Government seem to be at
 least at Bonaparte, and some have
 with the conservatives. They also seem
 independent as to the national of the Austrian
 France.

CHAPTER IV.

THE campaign of Italy, so fertile in the glorious achievements of arms, had also the effect of tempering the fierceness of the republican spirit which had spread over France. Bonaparte, negotiating with princes and their ministers on a footing of equality, but still with all that superiority to which victory and his genius entitled him, gradually taught foreign courts to be familiar with republican France, and the Republic to cease considering all states governed by kings as of necessity enemies.

Under these circumstances the departure of the General-in-chief, and his expected visit to Paris, excited general attention. The feeble Directory was prepared to submit to the presence of the conqueror of Italy in the capital.

On the 17th November he quitted Milan for the congress at Rastadt, there to preside in the French legation. But before his departure he sent to the Directory one of those trophies, the inscription on which might easily be considered as fabulous, but which in this case was nothing but the truth. This trophy was the flag of the Army of Italy, and General Joubert was appointed to the honourable mission of presenting it to the government. On one side of the flag were the words, "To the Army of Italy, the grateful country." The other contained an enumeration of the battles fought, the places taken, and a striking and simple abridgment of the history of the Italian campaign :—

"150,000 prisoners; 170 standards; 550 pieces of battering cannon; 600 pieces of field artillery; five

bridge equipages; nine 64-gun ships; twelve 32-gun frigates; 12 corvettes; 18 galleys; armistice with the King of Sardinia; convention with Genoa; armistice with the Duke of Parma; armistice with the King of Naples; armistice with the Pope; preliminaries of Leoben; convention of Montebello with the republic of Genoa; treaty of peace with the Emperor at Campo-Formio.

“Liberty given to the people of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Massa-Carrara, La Romagna, Lombardy, Brescia, Bergami, Mantua, Crema, part of the Veronese, Chiavenna, Bormio, the Valtelina, the Genoese, the Imperial Fiefs, the people of the departments of Corçyro, of the Ægean Sea, and of Ithaca.

“Sent to Paris all the masterpieces of Michael Angelo, of Guercino, of Titian, of Paul Veronese, of Correggio, of Albano, of Carracci, of Raphael, and of Leonardo da Vinci.”

The greater part of the Italian cities had been accustomed to consider their conqueror as a liberator—such was the magic of the word *liberty*, which resounded from the Alps to the Apennines. In his way to Mantua the General took up his residence in the palace of the ancient dukes, where he stopped two days. The morrow of his arrival was devoted to the celebration of a military funeral, in honour of General Hoche, who had just died. His next object was to hasten the execution of a monument which he was erecting to the memory of Virgil. Thus in one day he paid honour to France and Italy—to modern glory and to ancient fame—to the laurels of war and the laurels of poetry.

A person who saw Bonaparte on this occasion for the first time describes him thus, in a letter to Paris: “I beheld with deep interest and extreme attention that extraordinary man who has performed such great deeds, and about whom there is something which seems to indicate that his career is not yet terminated. I found him very like his portraits, small in stature, thin, pale,

with an air of fatigue, but not in ill-health, as has been reported. He appeared to me to listen with more abstraction than interest, as if occupied rather with what he was thinking of, than with what was said to him. There is great intelligence in his countenance, along with an expression of habitual meditation, which reveals nothing of what is passing within. In that thinking head, in that daring mind, it is impossible not to suppose that some designs are engendering *which will have their influence on the destinies of Europe.*"

The journey of Bonaparte through Switzerland was to him a real triumph, and it was not without its utility ; his presence seemed to calm many inquietudes. From the many changes which had occurred on the other side of the Alps, the Swiss apprehended some dismemberment, or at least some encroachment on their territory, which the chances of war might have rendered possible. Everywhere he applied himself to restore confidence, and everywhere he was received with enthusiasm. He proceeded on his journey to Rastadt, by Aix in Savoy, Berne, and Basle. On arriving at Berne, during the night, we passed through a double line of carriages, well lighted up, and filled with beautiful women, all of whom raised the cry, " Long live Bonaparte ! long live the Pacificator ! "

On arriving at Rastadt Bonaparte found a letter from the Directory, calling him to Paris. He eagerly obeyed this invitation to withdraw from a place where he knew he could act only an insignificant part, and which he had fully determined on leaving, never to return.

The most magnificent preparations had been made at the Luxembourg for the reception of Bonaparte on his return from Rastadt. The great court of the palace was elegantly ornamented ; and they had constructed at the lower end, close to the palace, a large amphitheatre for the accommodation of official persons. Opposite to the principal entrance stood the altar of the country, surrounded by the statues of Liberty,

Equality, and Peace. When Bonaparte entered, everyone stood up uncovered; the windows were full of young and beautiful females. But, notwithstanding this splendour, an icy coldness characterized the ceremony. Everyone seemed to be present only for the purpose of beholding a sight, and curiosity rather than joy seemed to influence the assembly.

On this occasion the Directory displayed great splendour; and Talleyrand, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, introduced Bonaparte to the Directory in a very flattering speech. But so great was the impatience of the assembly that his speech was little attended to—so anxious was everyone to hear Bonaparte. The conqueror of Italy then rose, and pronounced with a modest air, but in a firm voice, the following brief address:—

“Citizen Directors,—The French people, to become free, had to contend with kings. To obtain a constitution founded on reason, the prejudices of eighteen centuries had to be overcome. The constitution of the year III. and you have triumphed over all those obstacles. Religion, feudalism, and royalty have successively, during twenty ages, governed Europe; but from the peace which you have just concluded dates the era of representative governments. You have effected the organization of the Great Nation, the territory of which is only circumscribed because Nature herself has fixed its limits. You have done more. The two most beautiful portions of Europe, formerly so celebrated for the sciences, the arts, and the great men whose birthplace they were, beheld with glad expectation the genius of freedom arise from the tombs of their ancestors. Such are the pedestals on which destiny is about to place two powerful nations.

“I have the honour to lay before you the treaty signed at Campo-Formio, and ratified by his majesty the Emperor. When the happiness of the French shall be secured on the best practical laws, then Europe will become free.”

Barras, then president of the Directory, made a speech in reply, and then embraced the General, which was followed by the other Directors. Each acted to the best of his ability his part in this sentimental comedy.

At Paris he took up his residence in the same small modest house that he had occupied before he set out for Italy, in the *Rue Chantereine*, which, about this time, in compliment to its illustrious inhabitant, received from the municipality the new name of *Rue de la Victoire*. Here he resumed his favourite studies and pursuits, and, apparently contented with the society of his private friends, seemed to avoid, as carefully as others in his situation might have courted, the honours of popular distinction and applause.

In his intercourse with society at this period, he was, for the most part, remarkable for the cold reserve of his manners. He had the appearance of one too much occupied with serious designs to be able to relax at will into the easy play of ordinary conversation. He did not suffer his person to be familiarized out of reverence. When he did appear he was still, wherever he went, the Bonaparte of Lodi, and Arcola, and Rivoli.

In January, 1798, he again renewed, without success, his former attempt to obtain a dispensation of age, and a seat in the Directory; but perceiving that the time was not favourable, he laid it aside. In Napoleon's own language, "the pear was not yet ripe."

He proceeded, therefore, to make a regular survey of the French coast opposite to England, with the view of improving its fortifications, and (ostensibly at least) of selecting the best points for embarking an invading force. For this service he was eminently qualified; and many local improvements of great importance, long afterwards effected, were first suggested by him at this period. In this rapid excursion of eight days he wished to ascertain the practicability of a descent upon England. He was accompanied by Lannes, Sulkowsky, and myself. He made his observations with that

patience, knowledge, and tact which he possessed in so high a degree ; he examined until midnight sailors, pilots, smugglers, and fishermen ; he made objections, and listened attentively to their answers. We returned to Paris by Antwerp, Brussels, Lisle, and Saint-Quentin. " Well, General," said I, " what do you think of your journey ; are you satisfied ? " He replied quickly, with a negative shake of the head, " It is too hazardous ; I will not attempt it. I will not risk upon such a stake the fate of our beautiful France."

He had himself, in the course of the preceding autumn, suggested to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the celebrated Talleyrand, the propriety of making an effort against England in another quarter of the world—of seizing Malta, proceeding to occupy Egypt, and therein gaining at once a territory capable of supplying to France the loss of her West Indian colonies, and the means of annoying Great Britain in her Indian trade and empire. To this scheme he now recurred : the East presented a field of conquest and glory on which his imagination delighted to brood. " Europe," said he, " is but a molehill—all the great reputations have come from Asia." The Egyptian expedition was determined on—but kept strictly secret. The attention of England was still riveted on the coasts of Normandy and Picardy, between which and Paris Bonaparte studiously divided his presence, whilst it was on the borders of the Mediterranean that the ships and the troops really destined for action were assembling. On the 12th of April, 1798, he was appointed General-in-chief of the army of the East.

The English Government, meanwhile, although they had no suspicion of the real destination of the armament, had not failed to observe what was passing in Toulon. They probably believed that the ships there assembled were meant to take part in the great scheme of the invasion of England. However this might have been, they had sent a considerable reinforcement to Nelson, who then commanded on the Mediterranean

station ; and he, at the moment when Bonaparte reached Toulon, was cruising within sight of the port. Napoleon well knew that to embark in the presence of Nelson would be to rush into the jaws of ruin ; and waited until some accident should relieve him from this terrible watcher. On the evening of the 19th of May fortune favoured him. A violent gale drove the English off the coast, and disabled some ships so much that Nelson was obliged to go into the harbours of Sardinia, to have them repaired. The French general instantly commanded the embarkation of all his troops ; and as the last of them got on board, the sun rose on the mighty armament : it was one of those dazzling suns which the soldiery delighted afterwards to call "the suns of Napoleon."

We left Paris on the 3rd of May, 1798. Ten days before the departure of General Bonaparte for the conquest of Egypt and Syria, a prisoner, Sir Sidney Smith, escaped from the Temple, who was destined to contribute most materially to the failure of an expedition which had been conceived with the greatest boldness. This escape was pregnant with future events ; a forged order of the Minister of Police prevented the revolution of the East. We arrived at Toulon on the 8th. Bonaparte knew by the movements of the English that not a moment was to be lost ; contrary winds delayed us ten days, which he employed in the examination of the most minute details of the expedition.

The squadron sailed on the 19th of May. Seldom have the shores of the Mediterranean witnessed a nobler spectacle. The unclouded sun rose on a semicircle of vessels, extending in all to not less than six leagues : consisting of thirteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates, and 400 transports, under the command of Admiral Brueys. They carried 40,000 picked soldiers, and these were commanded by officers whose names were only inferior to that of the General-in-chief : of the men, as well as of their leaders, the far greater part were already

accustomed to follow Napoleon, and to consider his presence as the pledge of victory.

We arrived off Malta on the 10th of June. It was not taken by force of arms, but by a previous arrangement with the imbecile knights. Bonaparte has stated himself that he took Malta when he was at Mantua. No one acquainted with Malta could imagine that an island surrounded with such formidable and perfect fortifications would have surrendered in two days to a fleet which was pursued by an enemy. General Caffarelli observed to the General-in-chief, that "it is lucky there is someone in the town to open the gates for us."

After having provided for the government and defence of the island, with his usual activity and foresight, we left it on the 19th of June. Many of the knights followed us, and took military and civil appointments.

During the night of the 22nd of June, the English squadron was almost close upon us. It passed within six leagues of the French fleet. Nelson, who learned at Messina of the capture of Malta, on the day we left the island, sailed direct for Alexandria, which he rightly considered as the point of our destination. By making all sail, and taking the shortest course, he arrived before Alexandria on the 28th; but on not meeting with the French fleet he immediately put to sea.

On the morning of the 1st of July, the expedition arrived off the coast of Africa, and the column of *Severus* pointed out to us the city of Alexandria. Bonaparte determined on an immediate landing. This the admiral opposed on account of the state of the weather, and recommended a delay of a few hours; he observed that Nelson could not return for several days. But the General-in-chief sternly refused, and said, "There is no time to be lost; fortune gives me three days; if I do not make the most of them, we are lost." The admiral then gave the signal for a general landing, which, on account of the surge, was not effected without much difficulty and danger, and the loss of many by drowning.

It was on the 2nd of July, at one o'clock in the morning, that we landed on the soil of Egypt, at Marabou, about three leagues from Alexandria. At three o'clock the same morning, the General-in-chief marched on Alexandria, with the divisions of Kleber, Bon, and Morand. The Bedouin Arabs, who hovered about our right flank and rear, carried off the stragglers. Having arrived within gun-shot of the city, the walls were scaled, and French valour soon triumphed over all obstacles.

Bonaparte employed the six days he remained in Alexandria in establishing order in the city and the province, with that activity and talent which I could never sufficiently admire; and in preparing for the march of the army across the province of Bohahireh. During his stay he issued a proclamation, which contained this passage:—

“People of Egypt! You will be told that I am come to destroy your religion—do not believe it. Be assured that I come to restore your rights, to punish the usurpers, and that I respect, more than the Mamelukes, God, His Prophet, and the Alcoran. Tell them that all men are equal in the eye of God: wisdom, talents, and virtue make the only difference.”

He sent Desaix, with 4,500 infantry and sixty cavalry, to Beda, on the road to Damanhour. This general was the first to experience the privations and sufferings of the campaign, which the whole army had soon to endure. His noble character, and his attachment to Bonaparte, seemed about to give way to the obstacles which surrounded him. On the 15th of July he wrote from Bohahireh, “I beseech you, do not allow us to remain in this position; the soldiers are discouraged, and murmur. Order us to advance or fall back; the villages are mere huts, and absolutely without resources.”

In these immense plains, burned up by a vertical sun, water, everywhere so common, becomes an object of contest. The wells and springs, those secret treasures of the desert, are carefully concealed from the traveller;

and frequently, after our most oppressive marches, nothing was found to allay the thirst but disgusting pools of brackish water.

On the 7th of July, Bonaparte left Alexandria, and during the march was incessantly harassed by the Arabs; they had filled up or poisoned the cisterns and springs, which already were so rare in the desert. The soldiers, who on this first march began to suffer from an intolerable thirst, felt but little relief from the brackish and unwholesome water which they met with. The miseries of this progress were extreme. The air is crowded with pestiferous insects; the glare of the sand weakens most men's eyes, and blinds many; water is scarce and bad; and the country had been swept clear of man, beast, and vegetable. Under this torture even the gallant spirits of such men as Murat and Lannes could not sustain themselves;—they trod their cockades in the sand. The common soldiers asked, with angry murmurs, if it was here the General designed to give them their seven acres which he had promised them. He alone was superior to all these evils. Such was the happy temperament of his frame.

On the 10th of July, our headquarters were established at Rahmahanieh, where they remained during the 11th and 12th. At this place commences the canal which was cut by Alexander, to convey water to his new city, and to facilitate commercial intercourse between Europe and the East.

On the 21st of July, the army came within sight of the Pyramids, which, but for the regularity of the outline, might have been taken for a distant ridge of rocky mountains. While every eye was fixed on these hoary monuments of the past, they gained the brow of a gentle eminence, and saw at length spread out before them the vast army of the beys, its right posted on an intrenched camp by the Nile, its centre and left composed of that brilliant cavalry with which they were by this time acquainted. Napoleon, riding forward to

reconnoitre, perceived (what escaped the observation of all his staff) that the guns on the intrenched camp were not provided with carriages—he instantly decided on his plan of attack, and prepared to throw his force on the left, where the guns could not be available. Mourad Bey, who commanded in chief, speedily penetrated his design; and the Mamelukes advanced gallantly to the encounter. “Soldiers,” said Napoleon, “from the summit of yonder Pyramids forty ages behold you”; and the battle began.

The French formed into separate squares, and awaited the assault of the Mamelukes. These came on with impetuous speed and wild cries, and practised every means to force their passage into the serried ranks of their new opponents. They rushed on the line of bayonets, backed their horses upon them, and at last, maddened by the firmness which they could not shake, dashed their pistols and carbines into the faces of the men. They who had fallen wounded from their seats, would crawl along the sand, and hew at the legs of their enemies with their scimitars. Nothing could move the French: the bayonet and the continued roll of musketry by degrees thinned the host around them; and Bonaparte at last advanced. Such were the confusion and terror of the enemy when he came near the camp, that they abandoned their works, and flung themselves by hundreds into the Nile. The carnage was prodigious, and great multitudes were drowned. The name of Bonaparte now spread panic through the East; and the “Sultan Kebir” (or King of Fire—as he was called from the deadly effects of the musketry in this engagement) was considered as the destined scourge of God, whom it was hopeless to resist.

The French now had recompense for the toils they had undergone. The bodies of the slain and drowned Mamelukes were rifled, and, it being the custom for these warriors to carry their wealth about them, a single corpse often made a soldier’s fortune.



Napoleon on the Battlefield.

The occupation of Cairo was the immediate consequence of the victory of Embabeh, or the Pyramids.

After the battle of the Pyramids, he despatched the following letter and proclamation from his headquarters at Gizeh :—

“ THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, BONAPARTE, TO THE SHEIKS
AND NOTABLES OF CAIRO.

“ You will see by the annexed proclamation, the sentiments which animate me.

“ Yesterday the Mamelukes were for the most part killed or wounded, and I am in pursuit of the few who escaped.

“ Send here the boats which are on your bank of the river, and send also a deputation to acquaint me with your submission. Provide bread, meat, straw, and barley for my troops. Be under no alarm, and rest assured that no one is more anxious to contribute to your happiness than I.

(Signed) “ BONAPARTE.”

Immediately on his arrival at Cairo, the Commander-in-chief occupied himself in the civil and military organization of the country. Only those who have seen him at this time, when in the full vigour of youth, can estimate his extraordinary activity. Egypt, so long the object of his study, was as well known to him in a few days as if he had lived in it for ten years. He issued orders to observe the most strict discipline, and these orders were rigidly enforced. The mosques, civil and religious institutions, harems, women, the customs of the country, were scrupulously respected. A few days had scarcely elapsed when the French soldiers were admitted into the houses, and might be seen peaceably smoking their pipes with the inhabitants, assisting them in their labours, and playing with their children.

While Bonaparte was thus actively taking measures

for the organization of the country, General Desaix had marched into Upper Egypt in pursuit of Mourad Bey. We learned that Ibrahim, who, next to Mourad, was the most influential of the beys, had proceeded towards Syria, by the way of Balbeys and Saheleyeh. The General-in-chief immediately determined to march, in person, against that formidable enemy, and he left Cairo about fifteen days after he had entered it. It is unnecessary to describe the well-known engagement in which Bonaparte drove Ibrahim back upon El-Arish.

During this absence of the Commander-in-chief, the intelligence arrived at Cairo of the overwhelming disaster of the French squadron, at Aboukir, on the 1st of August. The aide-de-camp, despatched by General Kleber with this intelligence, went, at my request, instantly to Saheleyeh, where Bonaparte then was, who returned immediately to Cairo, a distance of thirty-three leagues.

On learning the terrible catastrophe at Aboukir, the Commander-in-chief was overwhelmed with anguish. In spite of all his energy and fortitude, he was deeply distressed by the disasters which now assailed him. To the painful feelings excited by the complaints and dejection of his companions in arms, was now added the irreparable misfortune of the burning of our fleet. He measured the fatal consequences of this event at a single glance. We were now cut off from all communication with France, and all hope of returning thither, except by a degrading capitulation with an implacable and hated enemy. He had lost all chance of preserving his conquest, and to him this was indeed a bitter reflection.

The loss of the fleet convinced General Bonaparte of the necessity of speedily and effectively organizing Egypt, where everything denoted that we should stay for a considerable time, except in the event of a forced evacuation, which the General was far from foreseeing or fearing. The distance of Ibrahim Bey and Mourad Bey now left him a little at rest. War, fortifications,

taxation, government, the organization of the divans, trade, art, and science, all occupied his attention. Orders and instructions were immediately despatched, if not to repair the defeat, at least to avert the first danger that might ensue from it. On the 21st of August, Bonaparte established at Cairo an institute of the arts and sciences, of which he subsequently appointed me a member in the room of M. de Sacy, who was obliged to return to France, in consequence of the wound he had received on board the flotilla in the Nile.

About the end of August, Bonaparte wished to open negotiations with the Pasha of Acre, surnamed *the Butcher*. He offered Djezzar his friendship, sought his in return, and gave him the most consolatory assurances of the safety of his dominions. But Djezzar, confiding in his own strength, and in the protection of the English, who had anticipated Bonaparte, was deaf to every overture, and would not even receive Beauvoisin, who was sent to him on the 22nd of August. A second envoy was beheaded at Acre.

CHAPTER V.

FROM the time Bonaparte received intelligence of the disaster at Aboukir, until the revolt of Cairo, on the 22nd of October, he often found the time to hang heavily on his hands. Though employed in so many ways, yet there was not enough to occupy his singularly active mind. When the heat was not too great, he rode out on horseback, and on his return, if there were no despatches to read, no letters to answer, or orders to be issued, he was immediately absorbed in thought, and would sometimes converse very strangely.

The signal for the execution of this revolt was given from the minarets on the night of the 20th of October, and on the morning of the 21st it was announced at headquarters that the city of Cairo was in open insurrection. The General-in-chief was not, as has been stated, in the isle of Raouddah; he did not hear the firing of the alarm-guns. He rose when the news arrived; it was then five o'clock. He was informed that all the shops were closed, and that the French were attacked. A moment after, he learned the death of General Dupuy, commandant of the garrison, who was killed by a lance in the street. Bonaparte immediately mounted his horse, and accompanied by only thirty guides, advanced on all the threatened points, restored confidence, and, with great presence of mind, adopted measures of defence.

Some time after this revolt, the necessity of securing our own safety occasioned the commission of a terrible act of cruelty. A tribe of Arabs had surprised and

massacred a party of the French. The General-in-chief ordered his aide-de-camp, Croisier, to proceed to the spot, surround the tribe, destroy their huts, kill all their men, and conduct the rest of the population to Cairo. The order was to decapitate the victims, and to bring their heads in sacks to Cairo, to be exhibited to the people.

Since the month of August, Bonaparte had had his eyes fixed upon Syria, and expected the landing of the Turkish army, which took place shortly after. He comprehended, with his usual ability, the dangers which menaced him from the side of the isthmus of Suez, and he resolved in his mind the means of averting them.

On the 11th of February, 1799, we commenced our march for Syria with about 12,000 men: it has been stated that we numbered only 6,000, but the fact is we lost nearly that number during the campaign. Our little army advanced upon El-Arish, where we arrived on the 17th. The fatigues of the desert and the want of water excited violent murmurs amongst the soldiers, and they insulted those whom they saw on horseback—they indulged in the most violent abuse of the Republic, the *savans*, and those whom they regarded as the authors of the expedition. At times soldiers worn down by thirst, and unable to wait for the distribution of the water, pierced the skins with their bayonets, and by this violence rendered the scarcity still greater. In a few days El-Arish surrendered. On the 28th we had the first prospect of the verdant and fertile fields of Syria, which recalled to our recollection those of our own country, and the prospect of mountains and green fields occasioned us to forget for a while the sufferings of an expedition of which few could form a judgment, either of the design or the end.

On the 4th of March we laid siege to Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, a pretty town, which held out until the 6th, when it was taken by assault. The massacre was horrible. Bonaparte sent his aides-de-camp, Beauharnois and Croisier, to appease the fury of the soldiers, and to

report what was passing. They learned that a considerable part of the garrison had retired into a large building, a sort of enclosed court. They proceeded to the place displaying their scarfs, which denoted their rank. The Arnauts and Albanians, of whom these refugees were composed, cried from the windows that they would surrender if their lives were spared; if not, they threatened to fire upon the aides-de-camp, and to defend themselves to the last extremity. The officers granted their request, and they were marched into the camp in two divisions, to the amount of 4,000.

After the siege of Jaffa, the plague began to exhibit itself with more severity. It was brought from Damietta, by the division of Kleber. We lost between 7,000 and 8,000 men by the contagion, during the Syriac expedition.

On the 18th of March we arrived before Acre.

The details of the siege of Acre are well known. Although surrounded by a wall, flanked with strong towers, and having, besides, a broad and deep ditch defended by works, this little fortress did not appear likely to hold out against French valour and the skill of our engineers and artillery: but the ease and rapidity with which Jaffa had been taken deceived us in some degree as to the comparative strength of the two places, and the difference of their respective situations. At Jaffa we had a sufficient artillery; at St. Jean d'Acre we had not. At Jaffa we had to deal only with a native garrison; at St. Jean d'Acre we were opposed by a garrison strengthened by reinforcements of men and supplies of provisions, supported by the English fleet, and assisted by European science.

It was undoubtedly Sir Sidney Smith who did us the greatest injury. Much has been said respecting his communications with the General-in-chief. The reproaches which the latter cast upon him for endeavouring to seduce the soldiers and officers of the army were the more singular, even if they were well founded, inasmuch as these means are frequently employed by leaders in war.

The siege was raised on the 20th of May. It cost us a loss of nearly 3,000 men in killed, death by the plague, and in wounded. Had there been less precipitation in the attack, and had the siege been undertaken according to the rules of war, it could not have held out three days: one assault like that of the 8th of May would have been sufficient. If, on the day when we first came in sight of the ramparts of Acre, we had made a less inconsiderate estimate of the strength of the place, and taken into consideration our absolute want of artillery of a sufficient calibre, our scarcity of gunpowder, and the difficulty of procuring food, we certainly never should have undertaken the siege.

Bonaparte until this time had never experienced any reverses, but had continually proceeded from triumph to triumph, and therefore confidently anticipated the taking of St. Jean d'Acre. In his letters to the generals in Egypt, he fixed the 25th of April for the accomplishment of that event. He reckoned that the grand assault against the tower could not be made before that day; it took place, however, twenty-four hours sooner. "The slightest circumstances produce the greatest events," said Napoleon, according to the memorial of St. Helena; "had St. Jean d'Acre fallen, I should have changed the face of the world." And again, "the fate of the East lay in that small town."

Almost every evening during the siege Bonaparte and myself used to walk together, at a little distance from the sea-shore; and when employed in this manner on the day after the unfortunate assault of the 8th of May, he felt distressed at seeing the blood of so many brave men which had been uselessly shed. He said to me, "Bourrienne, I see that this wretched place has cost me a number of men, and wasted much time. But things are too far advanced not to attempt a last effort. If I succeed, as I expect, I shall find in the town the pasha's treasures, and arms for 300,000 men. I will stir up and arm the people of Syria, who are disgusted at the ferocity

of Djeddar, and who, as you know, pray for his destruction at every assault. I shall then march upon Damascus and Aleppo. On advancing into the country, the discontented will flock round my standard, and swell my army. I will announce to the people the abolition of servitude, and of the tyrannical governments of the pashas. I shall arrive at Constantinople with large masses of soldiery. I shall overturn the Turkish empire, and found, in the East, a new and grand empire, which will fix my name in the records of posterity. Perhaps I shall return to Paris by Adrianople, or by Vienna, after having annihilated the house of Austria."

We left St. Jean d'Acre on the 20th of May, during the night, to avoid a sortie from the besieged, and to conceal the retreat of the army, which had to traverse three leagues along the shore exposed to the fire of the English vessels, lying in the roads of Mount Carmel. The sick and wounded had been sent off two days before. Thus terminated this disastrous expedition. We proceeded along the shores of the Mediterranean, and passed Mount Carmel. Some of the wounded were carried on litters, and others on horses, mules, and camels. Near Mount Carmel we learned that three of our sick, who had been left in the hospital, had been cruelly put to death by the Turks.

During this fatiguing march the soldiers were oppressed by the most intolerable thirst, and exposed to an excessive heat, which disheartened the men, and encouraged a cruel selfishness, or the most shocking indifference. I saw officers, with their limbs amputated, thrown from the litters, although their conveyance in that manner had been ordered, and they had themselves given money to recompense the bearers: wounded soldiers were abandoned in the corn-fields. Our march was illumined by torches, lighted for the purpose of setting fire to the towns, the villages, the hamlets, and the rich crops of corn which everywhere covered the earth. The whole country was in a blaze. The sun, which shone in an unclouded sky, was often obscured by the smoke of our

continued conflagrations. Such was our march, and such are the horrors of war.

The remains of our heavy artillery were lost in the moving sands of Tentoura, from the want of horses, the small number that remained being now employed in more indispensable services. The soldiers seemed to forget their own sufferings, at the loss of those bronze guns, which had enabled them so often to triumph, and which had made Europe tremble.

We halted at Cæsarea on the 22nd of May, and we marched all the following night. Towards daybreak, a man, concealed in a bush, upon the left of the road, fired a musket almost close to the head of the General-in-chief, who was sleeping on his horse. I was beside him. The wood being searched, the Naplousian was taken without difficulty, and ordered to be shot on the spot. Four guides pushed him towards the sea, by thrusting their carbines against his back ; when close to the water's edge they drew the triggers, but all the four muskets hung fire : a circumstance which was accounted for by the great humidity of the night. The Syrian threw himself into the water, and swimming with great agility and rapidity, gained a ridge of rocks so far off, that not a shot from the whole troop, which fired as it passed, reached him. Bonaparte, who continued his march, desired me to wait for Kleber, whose division formed the rearguard, and to tell him not to forget the Naplousian. The poor fellow was, I believe, shot at last.

Our little army arrived at Cairo on the 14th of June, after a most harassing march of twenty-five days. The heat, during the passage of the desert, ranged from 100 to 110 degrees of Fahrenheit. The fallacious *mirage* was here even more vexatious than in the plains of Bohahireh. The excessive thirst, together with the most complete illusion, induced us, in spite of our experience, to urge on our wearied horses towards those imaginary lakes, which some moments after appeared but salt and arid sands.

The brackish waters of these deserts, which our horses drank with avidity, occasioned the loss of great numbers, who dropped down before they had got a mile from the watering-place.

Bonaparte announced his entry into the capital of Egypt by one of those lying bulletins, which deceived only fools. "I bring with me," said he, "many prisoners and colours—I have razed the palace of Djezzar, the ramparts of Acre—there no longer remains one stone upon another, all the inhabitants have left the town by sea—Djezzar is dangerously wounded."

Bonaparte had scarcely arrived at Cairo, when he was informed that the brave and indefatigable Mourad Bey was descending by the route of Fayoum, to form a junction with reinforcements collecting in Bohahireh. To this point Murat was despatched; but on hearing of his approach, the Bey retreated by the Desert of Gizeh and the great Pyramids.

On the 14th of July, Bonaparte left Cairo for the Pyramids. He remained three or four days among the ruins of this ancient city of the dead. This journey to the Pyramids, in which he had solely in view the destroying of Mourad Bey, has given occasion to a little romance, pretty enough. It is stated that he had appointed an audience with the mufti and the ulemas, and that, on entering into the great Pyramid, he exclaimed, "Glory to Allah! God only is God, and Mahomet is His prophet!" Now the fact is, Bonaparte never entered into the great Pyramid; he never had any intention of the kind. He sent some persons into one of the great Pyramids; but he remained without. They gave him an account of what they had seen in the interior; that is to say, they informed him there was nothing to be seen.

On the evening of the 15th of July, while we were walking in the direction of Alexandria, we perceived an Arab messenger riding towards us at full speed. He brought to the General a despatch from Marmont, who

commanded there at the time, greatly to Bonaparte's satisfaction. The Turks had landed at Aboukir, under the escort and protection of an English squadron. This news of the disembarkation of 15,000 or 16,000 enemies did not surprise Bonaparte, who had expected it for some time. As soon as he had read the despatch, he retired to his tent, and dictated to me his orders for the march of the troops. On the 23rd, we arrived at Alexandria, where all was prepared for that memorable conflict which, although it did not counterbalance the immense losses and melancholy results of the naval battle of the same name, will always recall to the memory of Frenchmen one of their most brilliant achievements in arms.

After the battle, which was fought on the 25th, Bonaparte sent a flag of truce on board the English admiral's ship. Our intercourse was marked by that politeness which ought to mark the intercourse of civilized nations. The admiral made our envoy some little presents, in return for those we had sent, and likewise a copy of the French Gazette of Frankfort, dated 10th of June, 1799. For ten months we had been without news from France. Bonaparte glanced over this journal with an eagerness easily to be imagined. "Ah!" said he, "my expectations have not deceived me; the fools have lost Italy. All the fruit of our victories has disappeared: I must leave Egypt."

He desired Berthier to be called; he told him to read the news. "Things," said he, "go ill in France; I must see what is passing there; you must come with me." Myself, Berthier, and Gantheaume, whom he had sent for, were the only parties to be intrusted with the secret. Gantheaume arrived, and Bonaparte gave him orders to prepare two frigates, *La Muiron* and *La Carrière*, and two small vessels, *La Revanche* and *La Fortune*, with provisions for 400 or 500 men, and for two months. He communicated to him his secret intentions, and recommended the strictest secrecy, lest intelligence of

his preparations should reach any of the English cruisers. He afterwards arranged with Gantheaume the course he intended to steer ; he provided for everything.

Bonaparte left Alexandria on the 5th of August, and arrived at Cairo on the 10th, for the purpose of making some parting arrangements. There he caused to be renewed the report of his proceeding to Upper Egypt, which appeared the more feasible, as such had been, in fact, his determination previous to our excursion to the Pyramids, as was well known to the army and to the inhabitants of Cairo. All at once he announced an intention of examining the Delta ; and to encourage that belief, he wrote on the 18th to the Divan, desiring them to keep him regularly informed of the state of affairs at Cairo during his absence. By this means he succeeded in preventing any suspicion of his projected departure from arising among the soldiery ; and we had no sooner left Cairo than we returned to Alexandria.

On the 22nd of August we reached Alexandria, and the General informed all those who had accompanied him from Cairo, that France was their destination. At this intelligence, joy appeared in every countenance.

General Kleber, who was instructed by Bonaparte to succeed him in the command of the army, was invited to come from Damietta to Rosetta, to confer with him on affairs of extreme importance. Bonaparte, in making an appointment which he knew he could not keep, wished to avoid the reproaches and sturdy frankness of Kleber. He wrote to him all that he had got to say, and assigned as his reason for not keeping his appointment, that his fear of being observed by the English cruisers had induced him to depart three days earlier than he intended. But Bonaparte knew well, when he wrote this letter, that he should be at sea when it was received. Kleber complained bitterly of this deception to the Directory.

CHAPTER VI.

ON the 23rd of August we embarked in the two frigates *La Muiron* and *La Carrière*. Our number was between 400 and 500. The night was dark when we got on board; but, by the feeble light of the stars, we were enabled to perceive a corvette, which approached to observe, and, as it were, to be a party in our silent and nocturnal embarkment.

During one-and-twenty days of impatience and disappointment, we were tossed about by contrary winds. At length, however, a favourable breeze sprang up which, in a short time, carried us past that point on the African coast near which Carthage formerly stood; and we soon afterwards made Sardinia, and ran along its western coast, keeping well in with the land. Bonaparte intended to have run ashore, in case of falling in with an English squadron; then to have gained Corsica, and to have awaited a favourable opportunity of reaching France.

At length, on the 8th of October, after having been chased by, and escaped from, an English squadron, we entered, at eight in the morning, the bay of Fréjus. None of the sailors being acquainted with that part of the coast, we knew not exactly where we were; for a moment we were in doubt as to whether we should run in. We were not expected, and we could not answer the signals, which had been changed during our absence. Some shots were fired at us from the batteries; but our confident entrance into the harbour, the numbers which crowded the decks of both frigates, and our demonstra-

tions of joy, did not allow them long to remain in suspense. Scarcely had we come to an anchor, when it was rumoured about that one of the ships carried General Bonaparte. In an instant the sea was covered with boats. In vain we endeavoured to keep the people off; we were fairly lifted up, and carried on shore. When we represented to the crowd of men and women, who pressed about us, the danger they ran, they all cried out, "We'd rather have the plague than the Austrians."

Scarcely had he arrived at Fréjus, than, in his anxiety for news, he questioned every one he met. There he first learned the extent of our reverses in Italy. "The evil is too great," said he; "there is nothing to be done." He decided on returning to Paris the very evening of the day on which we landed. Everywhere on his journey, in the towns, in the villages, he was received, as at Fréjus, with enthusiasm which it is impossible to describe.

The provinces, a prey to anarchy and civil war, were threatened with foreign invasion. Nearly the whole of the south presented the afflicting spectacle of one vast arena of contending factions. The nation groaned under the weight of tyrannical laws, and was universally opposed to a pentarchy, without moral force, without justice, and which had become the sport of faction and intrigue. The highways were infested by robbers; the agents of the Directory practised the most scandalous extortions—disorder reigned throughout—everything wore the aspect of dissolution. Any change was felt to be preferable to the continuance of such a state of things; and the majority of Frenchmen wished to escape from such an intolerable position. Two dangers threatened at the same time: anarchy, and the Bourbons. Every one felt the pressing necessity of concentrating the powers of the state in a single hand; and at the same time, maintaining those institutions, which were suited to the spirit and intelligence of the age; and which France, after having so dearly purchased, was now upon the point of losing for ever. The country looked for a

man who was capable of restoring her to tranquillity ; but as yet no such man had appeared. A soldier of fortune presented himself, covered with glory ; he had planted the standard of France on the Capitol, and on the Pyramids. His great actions, his brilliant enterprises, always crowned with success, his devotion to France, the justness of his conceptions, all concurred to point him out as the man most capable of making the country of his adoption great and happy, and of establishing public liberty. Bonaparte was deficient neither in elevated views, in knowledge, nor in the necessary acquirements ; but the will alone was wanting. For who, in fact, could have supposed that, having obtained the supreme power, he would have availed himself of it to trample under foot all the principles he had so long professed, and to which he owed his elevation ? Who could have believed that he would have superseded, by the most absolute despotism, that constitutional liberty for which France had so long sighed, and for the peaceable enjoyment of which she had made so many sacrifices ? But so it is : when his ambition had been gratified, when he had sacrificed everything to gain his point, we see him re-establishing the principles which he had combated, and defending them with equal energy. Could he venture to hope, that in the course of those immense enterprises which formed the business of his life, not one would have proved unfortunate ? Did he not consider, that when a man is in himself *all*, *all* must fall with him ; and that the destiny of a nation which depends upon the gain or loss of a battle is based upon nothing ?

On the 16th of October we arrived at Paris, whither the news of his landing at Frejus had been transmitted by telegraph. The day after his arrival he paid a visit to the Directory. The interview was cold. On the 21st he said to me : " I dined yesterday at Gohier's ; Sieyès was present, but I affected not to see him ; and I could perceive the rage with which this neglect in-

flamed him." "But are you sure," said I, "that he is against you?" "I know not that yet," he replied; "but he belongs to a system that I do not like." He was, at this time, considering how he might turn Sieyès out, and become a Director in his place.

To throw a clear light on the course of the great events which are about to be opened to our view, it is necessary here to take a rapid glance at the state of parties in Paris on our return. Moreau enjoyed a high military reputation; the army of the Rhine had reared in its ranks men of great valour; and without withholding their meed of approbation from the conqueror of Italy, there was something which more personally concerned themselves in their admiration of the general who had repaired the disasters of Scherer in Germany. Nothing, in fact, is more natural than to exalt those particular triumphs in which we ourselves have had a share. Bernadotte, who was a zealous republican, had been Minister of War during our campaign in Egypt; but had resigned three weeks before the return of Bonaparte to France. Both these generals enjoyed the confidence of the armies which they had commanded, and might be considered their representatives. Bonaparte had for devoted adherents the companions of his glory in Italy, and those whom he afterwards called "his Egyptians." The army was absolutely republican; whilst the miserable Directory appeared, as it were, an institution invented for the express purpose of being the instrument of intriguers. Our road was beset with difficulties, which it was necessary to appreciate—an incredible enthusiasm, it is true, had accompanied us on our route to Paris; but something more was wanting to the obtaining of suffrages than the shouts of the multitude.

The first views of General Bonaparte had for object the obtaining a seat in the Directory, but to this his age presented an insurmountable obstacle; whatever efforts he might make to get over this he found would be in

vain. As soon as his intentions became known, he found himself surrounded by all those who recognized in him the man they had long looked for. These men, who were able and influential in their own sphere, laboured to effect a reconciliation between Bonaparte and Sieyès, and to convert into friendship the dislike which existed between them. It was reported to Bonaparte that Sieyès had said, after the dinner at which he had been treated with so much disrespect, "Do you see how that little insolent fellow treats a member of that government which ought to have ordered him to be shot?"

But all was changed through the mediation of able friends, who impressed upon Bonaparte the hopelessness of supplanting Sieyès, and that it was better to join with him in overthrowing that constitution which neither of them loved. One said to Bonaparte, in my hearing, "Seek a support among those who treat as Jacobins the friends of the Republic, and, believe me, Sieyès is at the head of that party." Scarcely had Sieyès come to an understanding with Bonaparte, when he let out that Barras had said, "The little Corporal has made his fortune in Italy; he has no occasion to go back." Bonaparte went to the Directory expressly to refute this assertion: he complained bitterly before the Directors; affirmed boldly that his supposed wealth was a fable, and, if he had made his fortune, it had not been at the expense of the Republic.

The parts in the great drama which was shortly to be enacted were well cast. During the three days preceding the 9th of November everyone was at his post. Lucien pushed on with activity and intelligence the conspiracy in the two Councils; Sieyès took charge of the Directory; Real, under the influence of Fouché, negotiated with the departments, and, by the directions of his chief, dexterously managed, without compromising Fouché, to ruin those from whom that minister had derived his power: so early as the 5th Fouché had said to me, "Tell your general to be speedy; if he delays, he is lost."

On the morning of the 9th of November (18th Brumaire) all the generals devoted to Bonaparte were assembled at his house. I had never before seen such a number together. All were in full uniform except Bernadotte. I was surprised to see him in plain clothes, and I stepped up and said, in a low voice, "General, everyone here, except you and I, is in uniform." "Why should I be in uniform?" said he. As he uttered these words, Bonaparte, struck with the same surprise as myself, stopped short while speaking to several persons around him, and turning quickly towards Bernadotte, said—"How is this? you are not in uniform?" "I never am on a morning when I am not on duty," replied Bernadotte. "You will be on duty presently." "I have not heard a word of it: I should have received my orders sooner."

Bonaparte then led Bernadotte into an adjoining room. Their conversation was not long, for there was not time to spare.

The Council of Ancients assembled the same morning, in the Tuileries, at the early hour of seven; one of the conspirators forthwith declared that the salvation of the state demanded vigorous measures, and proposed two decrees for their acceptance; one, by which the meetings of the legislative bodies should be instantly transferred to the Château of St. Cloud, some miles from Paris: and another investing Napoleon with the supreme command of all the troops in and about the capital, including the National Guard. These motions were instantly carried; and, in the course of a few minutes, Bonaparte received, in the midst of his martial company, the announcement of his new authority.

As soon as the message from the Council of Ancients arrived, Bonaparte requested all the officers to follow him. A few hesitated, and did not: among others, Bernadotte. Bonaparte returned quickly to request him to do so, but he declined.

A large body of troops, amounting to about 10,000

men, had been assembled from an early hour in the gardens of the Tuileries, accompanied by the generals Bournonville, Moreau, and Macdonald. Bonaparte reviewed these troops, and read to them the decree of the Council of Ancients, appointing him to the command of all the military force, and charging him with the maintenance of the public tranquillity.

At ten o'clock on the same morning, the adverse Council of Five Hundred assembled also, and heard, with astonishment and indignation, of the decree by which their sittings were transferred from Paris (the scene of their popular influence) to St. Cloud. They had, however, no means of disputing that point: they parted with cries of "*Vive la République! Vive la Constitution!*" and incited the mob, their allies, to muster next morning on the new scene of action—where, it was evident, this military revolution must either be turned back, or pushed to consummation. During the rest of the day Napoleon remained at the Tuileries; the troops were in arms; the population expected with breathless anxiety the coming of the decisive day. A strong body of soldiery marched to St. Cloud under the orders of Murat.

The sittings of the Ancients, under the presidency of Lemercier, commenced at one o'clock. A warm discussion took place upon the state of affairs, and confusion reigned in the Councils:—in that of the Five Hundred disorder was at its height. Already the Directory had ceased to exist. Sieyès and Ducos had joined the party of Bonaparte; and Gohier and Moulins were prisoners in the Luxembourg, and in the custody of General Moreau; Barras, after declaring that his sole object in aspiring to the office of a Director had been his love of liberty, had sent in his resignation. At this moment Bonaparte entered, attended by a body of grenadiers, who remained outside the entrance of the hall. He attempted to address this assembly, but his voice was drowned in cries of "*Live the Republic!*"

Live the Constitution! Down with the Dictator!" Bonaparte fell back upon the grenadiers—he was joined by his brother Lucien, who had been president of the assembly; still the soldiers hesitated to act, when Lucien, drawing his sword, cried, "I swear to plunge this in the bosom of my brother, if ever he makes an attempt against the liberties of Frenchmen." This dramatic stroke was perfectly successful; hesitation vanished at the words, and, at a sign from Bonaparte, Murat, at the head of the grenadiers, rushed into the hall, and drove out the Representatives. All were obliged to yield to the logic of the bayonet, and here ceased the employment of a military force on this famous day.

The day had been passed in destroying one government—it became necessary to devote the night to the formation of a new one. The Council of Ancients assembled, and Lucien set about finding out such members of the Council of Five Hundred as he thought he could rely upon. He succeeded in getting together only about thirty, and these, with their president, were supposed to represent that numerous assembly of which they formed so small a part. This phantom of a representative body was essential, because Bonaparte, in spite of the illegalities of the preceding day, wished it should appear that he had acted according to law. They finished by decreeing that there was no longer a Directory; and that sixty-one individuals, who were named, had ceased to be members of the national representation, in consequence of the excesses to which they were continually proceeding, and for having taken an active part in the late disturbances. They decreed that the powers of government should be administered by three Consuls; and they nominated to these offices Sieyès, Roger Ducos, and Bonaparte.

On the morning of the 20th of Brumaire (11th of November) the first consul sent his brother Louis to inform the ex-Director, Gohier, that he was at liberty.

This haste was not without a motive, for Bonaparte was anxious to install himself in the Luxembourg ; and we removed there the same evening.

Everything was to be created—Bonaparte had almost the whole of the army with him, and on it he could depend ; but military force was not alone sufficient, and he wished a great civil power legally established. He immediately set about the composition of a Senate, a Tribunal, a Council of State, and a new legislative body—in fact, a new constitution. A consular government was formed, at the head of which was Bonaparte, named consul for ten years ; Cambaceres, second consul, also for ten years, and Lebrun, third consul, named for five years. To these were added a conservative Senate, a legislative body of 300 members, and a tribunate of 100 members. This latter was suppressed in 1807.

When a new government rises upon the ruins of one which has been overturned, the best chance it has of rendering itself a favourite with the nation, if that nation be at war, is to hold out the prospect of peace ; because peace is always an object which is desired by the people. This Bonaparte knew very well ; and if in his heart he wished for war, he was aware of what vast importance it was to him to appear to be desirous of peace. Thus, immediately after his installation at the Luxembourg, he hastened to notify to all the foreign powers his accession to the consulate, and likewise caused letters to be addressed to all the diplomatic agents of the French government abroad. He also hastened to open negotiations with the court of London. At this time we were at war with nearly the whole of Europe. We had lost Italy. The Emperor of Germany was governed by his ministers, who in their turn were governed by England, and France had no army in the interior. It was of great importance to the first consul that foreign powers should understand that it was impossible to expect the restoration of the Bourbons ; that it was the object of the existing government to adopt

a system of order and regeneration ; and that it was capable of maintaining friendly relations with them all. To attain this end Bonaparte gave orders to Talleyrand to make the first overtures of peace to the English cabinet. A correspondence took place, which showed the condescending policy of Bonaparte and the arrogant policy of England.

It was not with England alone that he sought to establish friendly relations ; the consular government also offered peace to the house of Austria ; but separately. The object of this offer was to awaken a jealousy between the two powers. Speaking to me one day of his extreme desire for peace, he said, " You see, Bourrienne, I have two great enemies upon my hands. I will not conceal from you that I prefer peace with England. Nothing would be more easy than to destroy Austria. She has no money except what she receives through England."

These negotiations, however, were attended with no success. None of the European powers would recognize the new government of which Bonaparte was the chief ; the victory of Marengo was necessary to produce the peace of Amiens.

CHAPTER VII.

THAT interval of the consular government during which Bonaparte remained at the Luxembourg may be called the preparatory consulate. Then were sown the seeds of the great events which he meditated, and of those institutions with which he wished to mark his possession of power. He was then, if I may use the expression, two individuals in one—the republican general, who was obliged to appear the advocate of liberty and the principles of the revolution; and the votary of ambition, secretly plotting the downfall of that liberty and those principles.

The presentation of sabres and muskets of honour dates also from the Luxembourg; for who does not see that this was but preparatory to the foundation of the Legion of Honour? A sergeant of grenadiers, named Leon Aune, having been included in the first distribution, easily obtained permission to write to the first consul to thank him. Bonaparte wished to make a parade of answering him, and dictated to me the following letter for Aune:—

“ I have received your letter, my brave comrade; you had no occasion to remind me of your gallant behaviour; you are the bravest grenadier in the army, since the death of the brave Benezete. You have received one of the hundred sabres which I have distributed, and all agree that none deserve it better.

“ I wish much to see you again. The Minister of War sends you an order to come to Paris.”

This cajolery to a soldier answered well the purpose which Bonaparte proposed. The letter to Aune could not fail of circulating through the whole army. Only think of the first consul, the greatest general of France, calling a sergeant his brave comrade; who could have written so but a stanch republican, a true friend to equality? No more was wanting to raise the enthusiasm of the army. At the same time Bonaparte began to find that he had too little room at the Luxembourg; and preparations were set on foot for a removal to the Tuileries.

Nevertheless, this great step towards the re-establishment of monarchy required to be taken with prudence. It was of importance to do away with the idea that none but a king could inhabit the palace of our ancient kings; what then was to be done? They had brought from Italy a fine bust of Brutus, and Brutus had sacrificed tyrants. This was the very thing wanted; and David received instructions to place Junius Brutus in the gallery of the Tuileries. What more convincing proof of a horror of tyranny? and as at the same time a bust could do no harm, all was in place; all perfectly reasonable.

To sleep at the Tuileries in the bed-chamber of the kings of France was all that Bonaparte wished; the rest would follow of course. He wished to establish a principle, the consequences of which would be afterwards deduced. Hence the affectation of never inserting in public documents the name of the Tuileries; but designating that place solely as the palace of the government. The first preparations were sufficiently modest, for it was unbecoming in a good republican to affect pomp.

Nothing was a matter of indifference to Bonaparte. It was not merely at hazard that he selected the statues that were to decorate the grand gallery of the Tuileries. He chose among the Greeks, Demosthenes and Alexander, to render homage at the same time to the genius

of eloquence and the genius of conquest. Among the great men of modern times he gave the preference to Gustavus Adolphus, then to Turenne and the great Condé; to Turenne, whose military talents he so much admired; to Condé that it might be seen that there was nothing fearful in the recollection of a Bourbon; and to show, at the same time, that he knew how to render homage to all who deserved it. The recollection of the most glorious days of the French navy was recalled by the statue of Duguai Trouin; Marlborough and Prince Eugene had also their places in the gallery, as if witnesses of the disasters which closed the great reign; and Marshal Saxe, as it were to show that the reign of Louis XV. had not been altogether without glory. Finally, the names of Dugommier, Dampierre, and Joubert proclaimed to all the world the esteem which Bonaparte cherished for his former brothers in arms, who had become the victims of a cause which was no longer his.

Before removing to the Tuileries, the first consul organized his secret police, which he intended to serve as a sort of counter police to that under the direction of Fouché. Duroc and De Moncey were the first Directors; afterwards, Davoust and Junot. Madame Bonaparte called this a vile system of espionage; and my remarks upon the inutility of the measure were in vain. Bonaparte had the weakness to fear Fouché; and, at the same time, to consider him necessary. Fouché, whose talents in this way are too well known to require any approbation, soon discovered this institution as well as its principal agents, and led them into many absurd reports; and in this way increased his own credit with Bonaparte.

Of the three consuls to whom the 18th Brumaire gave birth, Bonaparte lost no time in declaring himself the eldest; and it was easy to see, from the expressions that escaped him from time to time, that his ambition was by no means satisfied, and that the consulate was

but a step towards arriving at the complete establishment of monarchical unity.

At one o'clock precisely, on the 30th Pluviose, Bonaparte left the Luxembourg. The procession, doubtless, was far from exhibiting that magnificence which characterized those under the Empire ; but it had all the pomp which the existing state of affairs in France authorized. The only real splendour of that period was the magnificent appearance of the troops ; and 3,000 picked men, among whom was the superb regiment of the guides, were assembled for the occasion. All marched in the finest order, with their bands playing. The generals and their staff were on horseback ; the ministers in their carriages. The consular carriage alone was drawn by six white horses, which recalled the memory of glory and of peace. These beautiful horses had been presented to the first consul by the Emperor of Germany, after the treaty of Campo-Formio. Bonaparte also wore the magnificent sabre which had been given to him by the Emperor Francis. In the same carriage with the first consul were his colleagues Cambaceres and Lebrun. Everywhere upon his route through a considerable part of Paris he was received with shouts of joy, which, on this occasion at least, had no necessity to be ordered by the police. The approaches to the Tuileries were lined by the guards, a royal usage, which contrasted singularly with an inscription over the entrance through which Bonaparte passed : " THE 10TH OF AUGUST 1792. ROYALTY IS ABOLISHED IN FRANCE AND SHALL NEVER BE RE-ESTABLISHED ! " It was already re-established.

The troops being drawn up in the square, the first consul, alighting from his carriage, mounted, or to speak more correctly leaped on his horse, and reviewed the troops, whilst the other two consuls ascended to the apartments where the Council of State and the ministers attended them. A number of elegant females, dressed in the Grecian costume, which was then the fashion,

filled the windows ; from every quarter there was an influx of spectators impossible to describe, and from every quarter as if from a single voice were heard acclamations of "*Long live the First Consul !*" Who would not have been intoxicated by such enthusiasm ?

The first consul prolonged the review for some time, passed between the lines, addressing flattering expressions to the commanders of corps. He then placed himself near the entrance to the Tuileries, having Murat on his right, Lannes on his left, and behind him a numerous staff of young warriors, whose faces were browned by the suns of Egypt and of Italy, and who had each been engaged in more combats than he numbered years. When he saw pass before him the colours of the 96th, the 43rd, and the 30th demi-brigade, as these standards presented only a bare pole, surmounted by some tatters, perforated by balls, and blackened with gunpowder, he took off his hat, and bent to them in token of respect. This homage of a great captain to standards mutilated on the field of battle was hailed by a thousand acclamations, and the troops having defiled, the first consul, with a bold step, ascended the staircase of the Tuileries.

The ancient usages of royalty made their way, by little and little, into the former abodes of royalty. Among the rights attached to the crown, and which the constitution did not give to the first consul, was one which he greatly desired, the right of pardoning ; and which, by the most happy of all usurpations, he arrogated to himself. When the imperious necessities of his political situation, to which in fact he sacrificed everything, did not interpose, the saving of life afforded him the highest satisfaction—he would even have thanked those to whom he rendered such a service for the opportunity they had afforded him of doing so. Such was the consul—I do not speak of the emperor. Bonaparte, first consul, was accessible to the solicitations of friendship in favour of the proscribed.

The destruction of men, and the construction of monuments, were things entirely in unison in the mind of Bonaparte; and it might be said that his passion for monuments was nearly equal to his passion for war. But as, in all things, he had a dislike for what was sordid and mean, he preferred vast erections as he loved great battles. The appearance of the colossal ruins of Egypt had contributed not a little to develop in him his natural taste for great erections. It was not the edifices themselves that he valued, but the historical recollections they perpetuate, the great names they consecrate, and the great events they record. Why, in fact, should we value the column which we see, on arriving at Alexandria, were it not the column of Pompey? It is for artists to descant on its proportions and its ornaments; for the learned to explain its inscriptions; but the name of Pompey recommends it to the world.

In endeavouring to sketch the character of Bonaparte, I ought to have spoken of his taste for monuments; for without this characteristic trait, something essential would have been wanting in filling up the portrait. But although this taste, or, to speak more correctly, this passion, held a principal place in his thoughts and projects of glory, it did not prevent him from appreciating equally projects of amelioration of lesser importance. His genius would have great monuments to eternize the recollections of his glory; but, at the same time, his good sense enabled him to appreciate truly everything that was of real utility. He could seldom be charged with rejecting any plan without examination, and this examination was not long; for his habitual tact enabled him at a glance to see things in their true light.

The recollection of the superb Necropolis of Cairo recurred frequently to Bonaparte's mind. He had admired that city of the dead, to the peopling of which he had contributed not a little; and he designed to establish, at the four cardinal points of Paris,

four vast cemeteries, on the plan of that at Cairo, which had so riveted his attention.

Bonaparte determined that all the new streets in Paris should be forty feet wide, with foot pavements; in a word, nothing appeared to him too magnificent for the embellishment of the capital of a country which he wished to make the first in the world. Next to war, this was the first object of his ambition. The two ideas were commingled in his mind; so much so, that he never considered a victory complete till it had received its appropriate monument to carry down its recollections to posterity. Glory—continual glory for France as well as for himself. How often has he said to me, after conversing on his grand schemes, "Bourrienne, it is for France that I do this; all that I wish, all that I desire, the object of all my labours, is, that my name shall be for ever connected with the name of France!"

Paris is not the only city, nor is France the only kingdom, which bears traces of the passion of Napoleon for great and useful monuments. In Belgium, in Holland, in Piedmont, in the kingdom of Italy, wherever he had an imperial residence, he executed great improvements. At Turin, a magnificent bridge was constructed over the Po, in place of the old one which had fallen to ruin. How many things undertaken and executed under a reign so short and so eventful! The communications were difficult between Metz and Mayence. A magnificent road was formed, as if it were by magic, and carried in a direct line through impassable marshes and trackless forests; mountains opposed themselves, they were cut through; ravines presented obstacles, they were filled up; and very soon one of the finest roads in Europe was opened to commerce. He would not allow Nature, any more than man, to resist him.

In his great works of bridges and roads, Bonaparte had always in view to remove the obstacles and barriers which Nature had placed to the limits of ancient France, and the better to unite the provinces which he added

successively to the empire. Thus a road, level as the walk of a garden, replaced in Savoy the precipitous passes in the wood of Bramant, and thus the passage of Mont Cenis, on the summit of which he erected a barrack, and intended to have built a town, became a pleasant promenade at almost all seasons of the year. The Simplon was obliged to bow its head before the mattocks and the mines of the engineers of France; and Bonaparte might say, "There are now no Alps," with greater reason than Louis XV. said, "There are now no Pyrenees."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE importance of events varies with the times of their occurrence. An affair which passes away unnoticed may be rendered of consequence by events which subsequently ensue. This reflection naturally presents itself to my mind, when I am about to speak of the correspondence which Louis XVIII. sought to open with the first consul. It certainly is not one of the least interesting passages in the life of Bonaparte. While the empire appeared to rest upon a sure foundation, it might be considered but as a matter of curiosity ; but since the happy restoration of the Bourbons, the question of their re-establishment on the throne assumes a more elevated character, and it is necessary to relate facts with a scrupulous exactness. I shall therefore lay before the reader the text of this correspondence, and the curious circumstances connected with it. The letter of Louis XVIII. ran thus :—

“ Whatever may be their apparent conduct, men like you, sir, never inspire alarm. You have accepted an eminent station, and I thank you for it. You know better than any one the strength and power necessary to ensure the happiness of a great nation. Save France from her own violence, and you will have gratified the first wish of my heart ; restore to her her king, and future generations will bless your memory. You will always be too necessary to the state for me to be able to discharge, by important appointments, the debt of my family and my own. LOUIS.”

The first consul was much agitated on the receipt of this letter ; although he every day declared his determination to have nothing to do with the princes, he considered whether he should reply to this overture. The pressure of affairs which then occupied his attention favoured this hesitation, and he was in no haste to reply. Josephine and Hortense entreated him to give the king hopes, as, by doing so, that would not pledge him to anything, and would afford him time to see whether he might not in the end play a more distinguished part than that of Monk. Their entreaties were so urgent that he one day said to me, " These devils of women are mad. The Faubourg St. Germain has turned their heads ; they have made it their guardian-angel ; but that is of no consequence. I will have nothing to do with them." Madame Bonaparte told me, that she urged him to this step, lest he should think of making himself king, the expectation of which always raised in her mind a painful foreboding, which she could never overcome.

In the numerous conversations which the first consul had with me, he discussed, with admirable sagacity, the proposition of Louis XVIII. and its consequences. But he said, " The partisans of the Bourbons deceive themselves much if they imagine that I am a man to play the part of Monk." The matter rested here, and the king's letter remained upon the table. During this interval Louis XVIII. wrote a second letter without date. It was as follows :—

" For a length of time, General, you must be aware that you possess my esteem. If you doubt my gratitude, name your reward, and fix that of your friends. As to my principles, I am a Frenchman. Merciful by character, I am still more so from the dictates of reason. No, the conqueror of Lodi, of Castiglione, of Arcola, the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, cannot prefer a vain celebrity to true glory. But you are losing precious time. We may ensure the glory of France. I say *we*,

because I require the assistance of Bonaparte, and he can do nothing without me. General, Europe observes you. Glory awaits you, and I am impatient to restore peace to my people.

(Signed)

“LOUIS.”

The first consul allowed some time to elapse before he replied to this letter, so noble and dignified. At length he wished to dictate one to me. I begged to observe to him that the letters of the king were autographs, and that it appeared more suitable that he himself should write a reply. He then wrote as follows :—

“SIR,—I have received your letter : I thank you for the handsome manner in which you have spoken of me.

“You ought not to wish to return to France : to do so you must march over one hundred thousand dead bodies.

“Sacrifice your interest to the repose and happiness of France, and history will render you justice.

“I am not insensible to the misfortunes of your family, and shall learn with pleasure that you are surrounded with all that can contribute to the tranquillity of your retirement. BONAPARTE.”

By these general expressions he pledged himself to nothing, not even in words. Every day that augmented his power, and strengthened his position, diminished, in his opinion, the chances of the Bourbons ; and seven months were allowed to elapse between the receipt of the king's first letter and the answer of the first consul.

The first relations between Bonaparte and Paul I. commenced a short time after the accession to the consulate. Affairs then began to look a little less unfavourable : already vague reports from Switzerland and the banks of the Rhine indicated a coldness existing between the Russians and the Austrians ; and, at the same time, symptoms of a misunderstanding between the courts of London and St. Petersburg began to be

perceptible. The first consul having, in the meantime, discovered the chivalrous and somewhat eccentric character of Paul I., thought the moment a propitious one to attempt breaking the bonds which united Russia and England. He was not the man to allow so fine an opportunity to pass, and he took advantage of it with his ordinary sagacity. The English had some time before refused to comprehend in a cartel for the exchange of prisoners 7,000 Russians taken in Holland. Bonaparte ordered them all to be armed, and clothed in new uniforms appropriate to the corps to which they had belonged, and sent them back to Russia, without ransom, without exchange, or any condition whatever. This judicious munificence was not thrown away. Paul showed himself deeply sensible of it, and, closely allied as he had lately been with England, he now, all at once, declared himself her enemy. This triumph of policy delighted the first consul.

Thenceforth the consul and the Czar became the best friends possible. They strove to outdo each other in professions of friendship; and it may be believed that Bonaparte did not fail to turn this contest of politeness to his own advantage. He so well worked upon the mind of Paul, that he succeeded in obtaining a direct influence over the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

Lord Whitworth, at that time the English ambassador in Russia, was ordered to quit the capital without delay, and to retire to Riga, which then became the focus of the intrigues of the north, which ended in the death of Paul. The English ships were seized in all the ports, and, at the pressing instance of the Czar, a Prussian army menaced Hanover. Bonaparte lost no time, and, profiting by the friendship manifested towards him by the inheritor of Catharine's power, he determined to make that friendship subservient to the execution of the vast plan which he had long conceived: he meant to undertake an expedition by land against the English colonies in the East Indies.

The arrival of Baron Sprengporten at Paris caused great satisfaction among the partisans of the consular government, that is to say, almost everyone in Paris. He came on an extraordinary mission, being ostensibly clothed with the title of plenipotentiary, and, at the same time, appointed confidential minister to the consul. Bonaparte was extremely satisfied with the ambassador whom Paul had selected, and with the manner in which he described the emperor's gratitude for the generous conduct of the first consul.

Bonaparte never felt greater satisfaction in the whole course of his life than he experienced from Paul's enthusiasm for him. The friendship of a sovereign seemed to him a step by which he was to become a sovereign himself. The first consul, meanwhile, proceeded to turn the friendship of the Russian Emperor to solid account. It has never, in truth, been difficult to excite angry and jealous feelings among the minor maritime powers, with regard to the naval sovereignty of England. The claim of the right of searching neutral ships, and her doctrine on the subject of blockades, had indeed been recognized in many treaties by Russia, and by every maritime government in Europe. Nevertheless, the old grudge remained, and Bonaparte most artfully employed every engine of his diplomacy to awaken a spirit of hostility against England; first, in the well-prepared mind of the Czar, and then in the cabinets of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. The result was, in effect, a coalition of these powers against England.

CHAPTER IX.

MUCH had been already done towards the internal tranquillization of France: but it was obvious that the result could not be perfect until the war, which had so long raged on two frontiers of the country, should have found a termination. The fortune of the last two years had been far different from that of the glorious campaigns which ended in the treaty—or armistice, as it might more truly be named—of Campo-Formio. The Austrians had recovered the north of Italy, and already menaced the Savoy frontier, designing to march into Provence, and there support a new insurrection of the royalists. The force opposed to them in that quarter was much inferior in numbers, and composed of the relics of armies beaten over and over again by Suwarrow. The Austrians and French were more nearly balanced on the Rhine frontier; but even there there was ample room for anxiety. On the whole, the grand attitude in which Bonaparte had left the Republic, when he embarked for Egypt, was exchanged for one of a far humbler description; and, in fact, the general disheartening of the nation, by reason of those reverses, had been of signal service to Napoleon's ambition. If a strong hand was wanted at home, the necessity of having a general who could bring back victory to the tri-colour banners in the field had been not less deeply felt. And hence the decisive revolution of Brumaire.

Of the allies of Austria, meanwhile, one had virtually abandoned her. The Emperor Paul, of Russia, resenting

the style in which his army under Suwarrow had been supported, withdrew it altogether from the field of its victories. In his new character of chief consul, Bonaparte resolved to have the credit of making overtures of peace to England, ere the campaign with the Austrians should open; and, discarding the usual etiquette of diplomatic intercourse, he addressed a letter to King George III. in person. The reply was an official note from Lord Grenville, then Secretary of State for the department of foreign affairs, to Talleyrand, which terminated the negotiation.

It was Bonaparte's policy, even more clearly than it had been that of his predecessors, to buy security at home by battle and victory abroad. The national pride had been deeply wounded during his absence; and something must be done in Europe, worthy of the days of Lodi, Rivoli, and Tagliamento, ere he could hope to be seated firmly on his *throne*. On receiving the answer of the British minister, he said to Talleyrand (rubbing his hands, as was his custom when much pleased), "It could not have been more favourable." On the same day, the 7th of January (just three days after the date of Lord Grenville's note), the first consul issued his edict for the formation of the army of reserve, consisting of all the veterans who had ever served, and a new levy of 30,000 conscripts.

It was then, in the days of his youth, that the fertility of his genius, and the vigour of his mind, could not fail to command the admiration of even his most bitter enemy. I was astonished at the facility with which he entered into details. Whilst the most important occupations engrossed every moment of his time, he sent 24,000 francs to the hospital of Mont St. Bernard, to purchase provisions. When he saw the army of reserve formed, and that everything went to his wishes, he said to me, "I hope to fall on Melas' rear before he is aware that I am in Italy. That is, provided Genoa holds out; but Massena defends it."

On the 17th of March, in a moment of gaiety and good humour, he desired me to unroll Chauchard's great map of Italy—he stretched himself upon it, and told me to do the same. He then stuck into it pins, whose heads were tipped with red and black sealing-wax. I observed him in silence, and awaited the result of a campaign so inoffensive. When he had stationed the enemy's corps, and drawn up the pins with red heads on the points where he intended to conduct his own troops, he said to me, "Do you think that I shall beat Melas?" "Why, how can I tell?" "You are a simpleton," said he; "look you here.—Melas is at Alexandria, where he has his headquarters; he will remain there till Genoa surrenders. He has in Alexandria his magazines, his hospitals, his artillery, his reserves. Passing the Alps here" (pointing to the Great St. Bernard), "I fall upon Melas, I cut off his communications with Austria, and I meet him here in the plains of Scrivia" (sticking a red pin at San Julian). Perceiving that I looked upon this manœuvring of pins as mere pastime, he addressed to me some of his usual apostrophes, which served as a sort of relaxation, and then recurred to his demonstrations upon the map. We rose in about a quarter of an hour, I replaced the map, and thought no more about it. But when, four months after, I found myself at San Julian with his portfolio and despatches which I had saved from the rout which took place in the early part of the day, and when, the same night, I wrote from his dictation, at Torre di Galifolo, a league from thence, the bulletin of the battle, I frankly avowed my admiration of his military plans. He smiled himself at the justness of his foresight.

At this time France had four armies on her frontiers: that of the North, under Brune, watched the partisans of the house of Orange in Holland, and guarded those coasts against any new invasion from England; the defeat of the Duke of York had enabled the government to reduce its strength considerably. The second was the

army of the Danube, under Jourdan, which, after the defeat at Stockach, had been obliged to re-pass the Rhine. The third, under Massena, styled the army of Helvetia, had been compelled in the preceding campaign to evacuate great part of Switzerland ; but, gaining the battle of Zurich against the Russians, now re-occupied the whole of that republic. The fourth was that broken remnant which still called itself the " Army of Italy." After the disastrous conflict of Genola it had rallied in disorder on the Apennine and the heights of Genoa, where the spirit of the troops was already so much injured, that whole battalions deserted *en masse*, and retired behind the Var. Their distress, in truth, was extreme : for they had lost all means of communication with the valley of the Po, and the English fleet effectually blockaded the whole coasts both of Provence and Liguria ; so that, pent up among barren rocks, they suffered the hardships and privations of a beleaguered garrison.

The chief consul sent Massena to assume the command of the " Army of Italy " ; and issued, on that occasion, a general order, which had a magical effect on the minds of the soldiery. Massena was highly esteemed among them ; and after his arrival at Genoa, the deserters flocked back rapidly to their standards. At the same time Bonaparte ordered Moreau to assume the command of the two corps of the Danube and Helvetia, and consolidate them into one great " army of the Rhine." Lastly, the rendezvous of the " army of reserve " was appointed for Dijon : a central position from which either Massena or Moreau might, as circumstances demanded, be supported and reinforced ; but which Napoleon really designed to serve for a cloak to his main purpose.

In placing Moreau at the head of the army of the Rhine, full 150,000 strong, and out of all comparison the best disciplined as well as the largest force of the Republic, Bonaparte exhibited a noble superiority to all feelings of personal jealousy. That general's reputation

approached the most nearly to his own ; but his talents justified this reputation, and the chief consul thought of nothing but the best means of accomplishing the purposes of the joint campaign. Moreau, in the sequel, was severely censured by his master for the manner in which he executed the charge entrusted to him. His orders were to march at once upon Ulm, at the risk of placing the great Austrian army under Kray between him and France ; but he was also commanded to detach 15,000 of his troops for the separate service of passing into Italy by the defiles of St. Gothard ; and given to understand that it must be his business to prevent Kray, at all hazards, from opening a communication with Italy by way of the Tyrol. Under such circumstances, it is not wonderful that a general, who had a master, should have proceeded more cautiously than suited the gigantic aspirations of the unfettered Napoleon. Moreau, however, it must be admitted, had always the reputation of a prudent, rather than a daring, commander. A variety of engagements took place, with a variety of fortune. Moreau, his enemies allow, commenced his operations by crossing the Rhine in the end of April ; and, on the 15th of July, had his headquarters at Augsburg, and was in condition either to reinforce the French in Italy, or to march into the heart of the Austrian states, when the success of Bonaparte's own expedition rendered either movement unnecessary.

The chief consul had resolved upon conducting, in person, one of the most adventurous enterprises recorded in the history of war. The formation of the army of reserve at Dijon was a mere deceit. A numerous staff, indeed, assembled in that town ; and the preparation of the munitions of war proceeded there as elsewhere with the utmost energy : but the troops collected at Dijon were few ; and—it being universally circulated and believed, that they were the force meant to re-establish the once glorious Army of Italy, by marching to the headquarters of Massena at Genoa,—the Austrians

received the accounts of their numbers and appearance not only with indifference but with derision. Bonaparte meanwhile had spent three months in recruiting his armies throughout the interior of France; and the troops, by means of which it was his purpose to change the face of affairs beyond the Alps, were already marching by different routes, each detachment in total ignorance of the other's destination, upon the territory of Switzerland. To that quarter Bonaparte had already sent forward officers of the highest skill, with orders to reconnoitre the various passes in the great Alpine chain, and make every other preparation for the movement, of which they alone were, as yet, in the secret.

Berthier set out for Dijon, where he began the creation of the famous army of reserve, which was nothing in the beginning, but which, in a few weeks after, by a single battle, brought all Italy again under the dominion of the French.

The consular constitution did not permit the first consul to command an army out of the territory of the Republic. He did not wish it to be known that he had formed the resolution of placing himself at the head of the army of Italy, and which he now for the first time called the grand army.

The chief consul remained in Paris until he received Berthier's decisive despatch from Geneva—it was in these words, “I wish to see you here. There are orders to be given by which three armies may act in concert, and you alone can give them in the lines. Measures decided on in Paris are too late.”

Bonaparte immediately fixed the day of our departure from Paris for the 6th of May. All his arrangements were made, all his orders given, but he did not wish that it should yet be known that he went to take the command of the army. On the preceding evening, in the presence of the other two consuls, and the ministers, he said to Lucien, “Prepare by to-morrow a circular to the prefects; you, Fouché, will have it published in

the journals. Say that I have set out for Dijon, where I go to inspect the army of reserve ; you may add that I may perhaps go as far as Geneva, but say positively that I shall not be absent more than fifteen days. You, Cambaceres, will preside to-morrow in the Council of State. In my absence you are the head of the government, and speak in the same way to the Council : you may say that my absence will be short, but specify nothing. Assure the Council of State of my entire satisfaction ; it has rendered great services, which I hope it will continue to do. Stay, I had forgot,—you will at the same time announce that I have named Joseph a councillor of state. If anything should happen I will return like a thunderbolt. I recommend to you all the great interests of France. I hope in a little to be spoken of in Vienna and London.”

We set out at two o'clock in the morning, taking the Burgundy road, which we had already so often travelled under very different circumstances.

On the journey Bonaparte conversed much about the warriors of antiquity, especially of Alexander, Cæsar, Scipio, and Hannibal. He showed himself well acquainted with the localities and with the respective means of these commanders. He had made a special study of strategy, ancient and modern. Nothing, in the great science of war, escaped his genius.

On the 7th of May we arrived at Dijon, where he reviewed in great form some 7,000 or 8,000 raw and half-clad troops, and committed them to the care of Brune. The spies of Austria reaped new satisfaction from this consular review : meanwhile Napoleon had halted but two hours at Dijon ; and, travelling all night, arrived the next day at Geneva. Here he was met by Marescot, who had been employed in exploring the wild passes of the Great St. Bernard, and received from him an appalling picture of the difficulties of marching an army by that route into Italy. “ Is it possible to pass ? ” said Napoleon, cutting the engineer’s narrative short. “ The

thing is barely possible," answered Marescot. "Very well," said the chief consul, "*en avant*—let us proceed."

While the Austrians were thinking only of the frontier where Suchet commanded an enfeebled and dispirited division,—destined, as they doubted not, to be reinforced by the army, such as it was, of Dijon—the chief consul had resolved to penetrate into Italy, as Hannibal had done of old, through all the dangers and difficulties of the great Alps themselves. The march on the Var and Genoa might have been executed with comparative ease, and might, in all likelihood, have led to victory; but mere victory would not suffice. It was urgently necessary that the name of Bonaparte should be surrounded with some blaze of almost supernatural renown; and his plan for purchasing this splendour was to rush down from the Alps, at whatever hazard, upon the rear of Melas, cut off all his communications with Austria, and then force him to a conflict, in which, Massena and Suchet being on the other side of him, reverse must needs be ruin.

For the treble purpose of more easily collecting a sufficient stock of provisions for the march, of making its accomplishment more rapid, and of perplexing the enemy on its termination, Napoleon determined that his army should pass in four divisions, by as many separate routes. The left wing, under Moncey, consisting of 15,000 detached from the army of Moreau, was ordered to debouch by the way of St. Gothard. The corps of Thureau, 5,000 strong, took the direction of Mont Cenis: that of Chabran, of similar strength, moved by the Little St. Bernard. Of the main body, consisting of 35,000, the chief consul himself took care; and he reserved for them the gigantic task of surmounting, with the artillery, the huge barriers of the Great St. Bernard. Thus, along the Alpine chain—from the sources of the Rhine and the Rhone to Isere and Durance—about 60,000 men, in all, lay prepared for the adventure. It must be added, if we would form

a fair conception of the enterprise, that Napoleon well knew not one-third of these men had ever seen a shot fired in earnest.

The difficulties encountered by Moncey, Thureau, and Chabran will be sufficiently understood from the narrative of Bonaparte's own march. From the 15th to the 18th of May all his columns were put in motion ; Lannes, with the advanced guard, clearing the way before them ; the general, Berthier, and the chief consul himself superintending the rearguard, which, as having with it the artillery, was the object of highest importance. At St. Pierre all semblance of a road disappeared. Thenceforth an army, horse and foot, laden with all the munitions of a campaign, a park of forty field-pieces included, were to be urged up and along airy ridges of rock and eternal snow, where the goatherd, the hunter of the chamois, and the outlaw-smuggler are alone accustomed to venture ; amidst precipices where to slip a foot is death ; beneath glaciers from which the percussion of a musket-shot is often sufficient to hurl an avalanche ; across bottomless chasms caked over with frost or snow-drift. The transport of the artillery and ammunition was the most difficult point ; and to this, accordingly, the chief consul gave his personal superintendence. The guns were dismounted, grooved into the trunks of trees hollowed out so as to suit each calibre, and then dragged on by sheer strength of muscle—not less than a hundred soldiers being sometimes harnessed to a single cannon. The carriages and wheels, being taken to pieces, were slung on poles, and borne on men's shoulders. The powder and shot, packed into boxes of fir-wood, formed the lading of all the mules that could be collected over a wide range of the Alpine country. These preparations had been made during the week that elapsed between Bonaparte's arrival at Geneva and the commencement of Lannes's march. He himself travelled sometimes on a mule, but mostly on foot, cheering on the soldiers who had the burden of the great guns. The fatigue

undergone is not to be described. The men in front durst not halt to breathe, because the least stoppage there might have thrown the column behind into confusion, on the brink of deadly precipices ; and those in the rear had to flounder, knee deep, through snow and ice trampled into sludge by the feet and hoofs of the preceding divisions. Happily the march of Napoleon was not harassed, like that of Hannibal, by the assaults of living enemies. The mountaineers, on the contrary, flocked in to reap the liberal rewards which he offered to all who were willing to lighten the drudgery of his troops.

On the 16th of May Napoleon slept at the convent of St. Maurice ; and, in the course of the four following days, the whole army passed the Great St. Bernard. It was on the 20th that Bonaparte himself halted an hour at the convent of the Hospitallers, which stands on the summit of this mighty mountain. The good fathers of the monastery had been warned beforehand of the march, and they had furnished every soldier as he passed with a luncheon of bread and cheese and a glass of wine ; for which seasonable kindness they now received the warm acknowledgments of the Chief.

On the 16th the vanguard, under Lannes, reached the beautiful vale of Aosta, and the other divisions descended rapidly on their footsteps. This part of the progress was not less difficult than the ascent before. The horses, mules, and guns were to be led down one slippery steep after another—and we may judge with what anxious care, since Napoleon himself was once contented to slide nearly a hundred yards together, *seated*.

On the 17th Lannes arrived at Chatillon, where he attacked and defeated a corps of 5,000 Austrians—who received the onset of a French division in that quarter with about as much surprise as if an enemy had dropped on them from the clouds.

The first consul ascended Mount St. Bernard with that calm indifference and self-possession which never left

him when he considered it necessary to set an example. He interrogated his guide as to the condition of the inhabitants of the two valleys ; what were their means of subsistence, and whether accidents were as frequent as they were said to be. The guide informed him that long experience, and a succession of recorded facts, had enabled the inhabitants to foresee any change of weather, and that they were seldom deceived. Bonaparte, who wore his grey riding-coat, and had his whip in his hand, walked with somewhat of a pensive air, and appeared to be disappointed at not hearing of the fall of the fort of St. Bard. The army was in full march towards the Great St. Bernard. He waited three days in this frightful solitude, expecting to hear that the fort of St. Bard, which is situated at the other side of the mountain, and which covers the road to Yvrea, had surrendered. The town was carried on the 21st of May, but he learned, three days after, that the fort still held out, and that there was no appearance of its immediate surrender : he broke out into complaints against the siege ; “ I am tired of waiting,” said he ; “ these imbeciles will never take the fort of St. Bard : I must go there myself.”

On the 23rd we arrived within sight of the fort, which commands the road, having the little river of Dora Baltea to the right, and Mount Albaredo to the left. Arrived on an eminence which commands the fort, Bonaparte levelled his telescope on the grass, and sheltering himself from the shot of the besieged behind some bushes, which concealed him, he attentively examined the fort. After several questions, addressed to different persons who had come to give him information, he pointed out, with a tone of displeasure, the faults that had been committed, and with that *coup d'œil* which seldom deceived him, he ordered a new battery to be constructed, for the attack of a point marked out ; and from whence, he said, the firing of a few guns would oblige the fort to surrender. Having given his orders, he descended the mountain, and went to sleep

that night at Yvrea. He learned, on the 2nd of June, that the fort had surrendered the day before.

We arrived at Milan on the 2nd of June, the day on which the first consul heard that the fort of St. Bard was taken : we remained there six days. The day was now approaching when all was to be lost or won. The first consul made his arrangements, and despatched the different corps of his army to occupy the points marked out. I have already said that Murat was charged with the occupation of Placentia, and he had scarcely possessed himself of the town, when he intercepted a courier of General Melas. It announced the capitulation of Genoa on the 4th of June, after the long and celebrated defence which reflected so much honour on Massena.

I have read, in different accounts, that the first consul in person had gained the battle of Montebello. This is an error. The first consul did not leave Milan till the 9th of June, and on that same day Lannes was engaged with the enemy. The combat was so terrible, that Lannes, a few days after, described it in these words, which I well remember : " Bones were cracking in my division like hail falling on a skylight."

By a singular chance, Desaix, who afterwards contributed to the victory, and stopped the rout at Marengo, arrived from Egypt at Toulon, the same day that we left Paris. He wrote me a letter dated 6th May, 1800, informing me of his arrival. I received this letter at Martigny. I showed it to the first consul. " Ah," said he, " Desaix at Paris !" and immediately despatched an order for him to repair without delay to the headquarters of the Army of Italy. Desaix arrived at Stradella on the morning of the 11th of June. The first consul received him in the kindest manner, as a man for whom he had the most sincere esteem, and whose talents and character gave him a high opinion of what he would one day become. Bonaparte was jealous of some generals, the rivalry of whose ambition he feared ; but Desaix never gave him any uneasiness. He was modest and un-

assuming, uniting firmness with the mildest manners, and proved by his conduct that he loved glory only for her own sake ; and I affirm, that every sentiment of ambition and political power was a stranger to his breast. Bonaparte's friendship for him amounted to enthusiasm. At their first interview, on his return from Egypt, he was closeted with the first consul for three hours. The day after his arrival, an order of the day informed the army that Desaix commanded the division of Boudet.

The first consul slept on the 13th at Torre di Galifolo. In the evening he ordered a staff-officer to ascertain whether the Austrians had a bridge over the Bormida. It was reported to him, late at night, that there was none. This tranquillized his mind, and he went to bed satisfied ; but early next morning the sound of cannon was heard, and he learned that the Austrians had debouched in the plain, and that an engagement had taken place : he testified the greatest dissatisfaction at the conduct of the officer, whom he accused of cowardice, and said he had not advanced far enough. He then mounted his horse, and hastened to the scene of action. I did not see him again until six in the evening. In obedience to his directions, I had repaired to San Julianò, the village which, in the March preceding, he had pointed out to me as the site of a future battle. San Julianò was not more than two leagues distant from the place where the battle commenced. In the afternoon, I saw pass through the village a crowd of wounded, with the soldiers who accompanied them, and a short time after a number of fugitives. At San Julianò they spoke of nothing but a retreat, which Bonaparte, it was said, alone opposed with firmness. I was advised to leave San Julianò, where I had just received a courier for the Commander-in-chief. On the morning of the 14th, General Desaix had advanced on Novi, to observe the road to Genoa, which city had unfortunately fallen within the last few days, in spite of the efforts of its illustrious defender. I returned with

this division to San Julian, and was struck with the numerical weakness of the corps which was marching to the assistance of an army already much weakened and dispersed. They looked upon the battle as lost, and so, in fact, it was; for the first consul, having inquired of Desaix what he thought of it, this brave general answered him bluntly, "The battle is completely lost; but it is only two o'clock, there is still time enough to gain another." It was the first consul himself, who the same evening recounted to me these simple and heroic words of Desaix. Who could have thought that this small column, and the handful of heavy cavalry under Kellerman, should, about five o'clock, have changed the fortune of the day? It cannot be dissembled that it was the instantaneous inspiration of Kellerman which changed a defeat into a victory, and gained the battle of Marengo.

Two hours had scarcely elapsed since the division commanded by Desaix had left San Julian, when I was agreeably surprised by seeing that army, which since the morning had caused me so much uneasiness, returning triumphant. Never did Fortune within so short a time show herself under two aspects so different. At two o'clock it was the desolation of defeat, with all its calamitous consequences; at five, victory was again faithful to the flag of Arcola. Italy was reconquered at a single blow; and the crown of France appeared in the perspective.

The following is Napoleon's own account of the battle of Marengo, as dictated at St. Helena to General Gourgaud:—

"During the battle of the 11th, Desaix, who had returned from Egypt, and had been performing quarantine at Toulon, arrived at the headquarters, at Montebello, with his aides-de-camp, Rapp and Savary.

"Desaix burned to signalize himself. The first consul immediately gave him the command of the division of Boudet.

“ Melas’ headquarters were at Alexandria : all his army had been two days assembled there : his position was critical, because he had lost his line of operation. The longer he delayed determining what to do, the worse his position became ; for on one side, Suchet’s corps was advancing upon his rear, and on the other, the first consul’s army was daily increasing its fortifications and intrenchments in its position of Stradella.

“ On the 12th, in the afternoon, the first consul, surprised at the inaction of General Melas, became uneasy, and began to fear that the Austrian army had moved on Genoa, or upon the Tesino, or else had marched against Suchet to crush him, with the intention of afterwards returning against the first consul ; the latter determined to quit Stradella, and advance upon Scrivia, in the form of a strong reconnoitring party, in order to be able to act according to the course adopted by the enemy. In the evening the French army took up a position upon the Scrivia, Tortona was surrounded, the headquarters were stationed at Voghera. During this movement no intelligence of the enemy was obtained ; only some few cavalry scouts were perceived, which did not indicate the presence of an army in the plains of Marengo. The first consul no longer doubted that the Austrian army had escaped him.

“ On the 13th, at daybreak, he passed the Scrivia, and marched to San Juliano, in the midst of the immense plain of Marengo. The light cavalry discovered no enemy ; there was no longer room to doubt that he was in full manœuvre, since, if he had thought proper to wait for the French army, he would not have neglected the fine field of battle presented to him by the plain of Marengo, advantageous as it was for the development of his immense cavalry : it appeared probable that the enemy was marching on Genoa.

“ Under this impression, the first consul, with all expedition, despatched Desaix’s corps in the form of a vanguard, upon his extreme left, with orders to observe

the high-road leading from Novi to Alexandria ; he ordered Victor's division to enter the village of Marengo, and to send scouts upon the Bormida, to ascertain whether the enemy had any bridge there. Victor arrived at Marengo ; he there found a rear-guard of 3,000 or 4,000 Austrians, attacked and routed them, and made himself master of the village. His scouts arrived upon the Bormida at nightfall ; they gave information that the enemy had no bridge there, and that there was only an ordinary garrison in Alexandria ; they gave no intelligence of the army of Melas.

“ Lannes's corps bivouacked diagonally in the rear of Marengo, upon the right.

“ The first consul was very uneasy ; during the night he determined to visit his headquarters of the preceding day, in order to meet intelligence from General Moncey, General Lapoype, and the agents who had been sent towards Genoa, and who were to rendezvous upon those headquarters ; but the Scrivia had overflowed its banks. This stream swells considerably in the course of a few hours, and a few hours also are sufficient for its return to its usual state. This circumstance determined the first consul to fix his headquarters at Torre di Garifolo, between Tortona and Alexandria. In this situation was the night spent.

“ Meanwhile the most dreadful confusion had prevailed in Alexandria, since the battle of Montebello. The Austrian Council was agitated by the most sinister presentiments ; they beheld the Austrian army cut off from its line of operation and depôts, and placed between the army of the first consul and that of General Suchet, whose advanced posts had passed the mountains, and began to be felt upon the rear of the right flank of the Austrians. The greatest irresolution pervaded their minds.

“ After much hesitation, Melas, on the 11th, resolved to send a strong detachment against Suchet, the remainder of the Austrian army continuing covered by the

Bormida and the citadel of Alexandria; but, during the fight of the 11th and 12th, Melas heard of the first consul's movement upon the Scrivia. On the 12th he recalled his detachment, and passed the whole day and night of the 13th in deliberation; at last, after some sharp and stormy discussions, the council of Melas pronounced that the existence of the army of reserve had been unknown to him; that the orders and instructions of the Aulic Council had mentioned only the army of Massena; that the unfortunate position in which they found themselves ought, therefore, to be attributed to the ministry, and not to the general; that, in this unforeseen situation, brave soldiers ought to do their duty; that they were, then, called upon to cut their way through the army of the first consul, and thus re-open the communications with Vienna; that, in case of success, everything was gained, since they were masters of Genoa, and by returning promptly upon Nice, they could execute the plan of operations fixed at Vienna; and, lastly, that if they failed and lost the battle, their position would, no doubt, be dreadful, but that the whole responsibility of it would fall upon the ministry.

"This train of reasoning settled all opinions; there was but one cry—To arms! to arms! and everyone began to make his dispositions for the next day's battle.

"The chances of victory were wholly in favour of the Austrian army, which was very numerous. It had at least three times as many cavalry as the French army. The strength of the latter was not exactly known; but the Austrian army, notwithstanding its losses at the battle of Montebello, and those it had experienced in the neighbourhood of Genoa and Nice after the retreat, was still very superior to the army of reserve.

"On the 14th, at break of day, the Austrians defiled by the three bridges of the Bormida, and made a furious attack on the village of Marengo. The resistance was obstinately kept up for a long time. The first consul,

finding, from the briskness of the cannonade, that the Austrians had commenced the attack, immediately despatched orders to General Desaix to return with his troops upon San Juliano; he was half a day's march off to the left. The first consul arrived on the field of battle at ten o'clock in the morning, between San Juliano and Marengo. The enemy had at length carried Marengo; and the division under Victor having been forced to give way after a firm resistance, was thrown into the utmost disorder. The plain on the left was covered with our fugitives, who spread alarm wherever they went, and many were even exclaiming in dismay, *All is lost.*

"The corps of General Lannes, a little in the rear of the right of Marengo, was engaged with the enemy, who, after taking that place, deployed upon its left, and formed its line opposite our right, beyond which it already extended. The first consul immediately despatched his battalion of the cavalry guard, consisting of 800 grenadiers, the best troops in the army, to station themselves at 500 toises distance from Lannes, on the right, in a good position, in order to keep the enemy in check. Napoleon himself, with the 72nd demi-brigade, hastened to the support of Lannes, and directed the division of reserve of Cara Saint-Cyr, upon the extreme right, to Castel-Ceriollo, to flank the entire left of the enemy.

"In the meantime the army perceived, in the middle of this immense plain, the first consul surrounded by his staff, and 200 horse grenadiers with their fur caps: this sight proved sufficient to inspire the troops with hopes of victory; their confidence revived, and the fugitives rallied upon San Juliano, in the rear of the left of General Lannes. The latter, though attacked by a large proportion of the enemy's army, was effecting his retreat through the midst of this vast plain with admirable order and coolness. This corps occupied three hours in retiring three-quarters of a league, entirely exposed to

the grape-shot of eighty pieces of cannon ; at the same time that, by an inverse movement, Cara Saint-Cyr advanced upon the extreme right, and turned the left of the enemy.

“ About three o’clock in the afternoon the corps of Desaix arrived ; the first consul made him take a position on the road in advance of San Julianò. Melas, who believed the victory decided, being overcome with fatigue, repassed the bridges, and entered Alexandria, leaving to General Zach, the head of his staff, the care of pursuing the French army. The latter, thinking that this army was effecting its retreat by the road from Tortona, endeavoured to reach this road behind San Julianò ; but the first consul had altered his line of retreat at the commencement of the action, and had directed it between Sala and Tortona, so that the high-road from Tortona was of no consequence to the French army.

“ Lannes’s corps, in its retreat, constantly refused its left, thus directing its course towards the new point of retreat : and Cara Saint-Cyr, who was at the extremity of the right, found himself almost upon the line of retreat, at the very time that General Zach imagined the two corps were intersected.

“ The division of Victor had, in the meantime, rallied, and burned with impatience to recommence the contest. All the cavalry of the army was concentrated in the advance of San Julianò, on the right of Desaix, and in the rear of the left of General Lannes. Balls and shells fell upon San Julianò ; its left was already gained by a column of 6,000 of Zach’s grenadiers. The first consul sent orders to General Desaix to charge with his fresh division this column of the enemy. Desaix immediately prepared to execute these orders ; but, as he advanced at the head of 200 troopers of the 9th light demi-brigade, he was shot through the heart by a ball, and fell dead at the very moment that he had given the word to charge ; by this stroke the first consul was deprived of the man

whom he esteemed most worthy of being his lieutenant.

"This misfortune by no means disconcerted the movement, and General Boudet easily inspired the soldiers with the same lively desire of instant revenge for so beloved a chief, which actuated his own breast. The 9th light demi-brigade, who did, indeed, on this occasion, deserve the title of *Incomparable*, covered themselves with glory. General Kellerman, with 800 heavy horse, at the same time charged intrepidly the middle of the left flank of the column : in less than half an hour these 6,000 grenadiers were broken, overthrown, dispersed, and put to flight. General Zach and all his staff were made prisoners.

"General Lannes immediately charged forward. Cara Saint-Cyr, who was on our right, and *en potence* with the left flank of the enemy, was much nearer than the enemy to the bridges upon the Bormida. The Austrian army was thrown into the most dreadful confusion in a moment. From 8,000 to 10,000 cavalry, which were spread over the field, fearing that Saint-Cyr's infantry might reach the bridge before them, retreated at full gallop, and overturned all they met with in their way. Victor's division made all imaginable haste to resume its former field of battle, at the village of Marengo. The enemy's army was in the most horrible disorder. No one thought of anything but flight. The pressure and confusion became extreme on the bridges of the Bormida, where the masses of fugitives were obliged to crowd together ; and at night, all who remained upon the left bank fell into the power of the republic.

"It would be difficult to describe the confusion and despair of the Austrian army. On one side, the French army was on the bank of the Bormida, and was expected to pass it at daybreak ; on the other, they had General Suchet with his army on their rear, in the direction of their right.

"Which way could they effect their retreat ? Behind

they would be driven to the Alps, and the frontiers of France ; they might have moved towards Genoa on the right, before the battle ; but they could not hope to do so after their defeat, and closely followed by the victorious army. In this desperate situation, General Melas resolved to give his troops the whole night to rally and repose themselves, availing himself of the screen of the Bormida and the protection of the citadel of Alexandria for this purpose ; and afterwards to repass the Tanaro, if necessary, and thus maintain himself in that position, and endeavour, at any rate, by entering into negotiations, to save his army by capitulating."

CHAPTER X.

THE battle of Marengo decided the fate of Italy—the discomfiture of the Austrian army was so complete, that, rather than stand the chance of another contest with their victorious enemy, the general-in-chief proposed on the following day to negotiate for peace.

Melas offered to abandon Genoa and all the strong places in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations—provided Bonaparte would allow him to march the remains of his army unmolested to the rear of Mantua. Napoleon accepted this offer, and a suspension of hostilities immediately took place. By one battle he had regained nearly all that the French had lost in the unhappy Italian campaign of 1799; at all events he had done enough to crown his own name with unrivalled splendour, and to show that the French troops were once more what they had used to be—when he was in the field to command them. He had another motive for closing with the propositions of General Melas. It was of urgent importance to regain Genoa, ere an English army which he knew was on its voyage to that port could reach its destination.

As soon as this convention was signed, Bonaparte dictated to me, at Torre di Galifolo, the following letter to his colleagues :

“ The day after the battle of Marengo, Citizen Consuls, General Melas transmitted a message to our advanced posts, requesting permission to send General Skal to me. During the day, the convention, of which I send you a copy, was drawn up, and at night it was signed

by Generals Berthier and Melas. I hope the French people will be satisfied with the conduct of their army.

“BONAPARTE.”

The only thing worthy of remark in this letter would be the concluding sentence, in which the first consul still affected to acknowledge the sovereignty of the people, were it not that the words, “Citizen Consuls,” were evidently foisted in with a particular design. The battle was gained ; and even in a trifling matter like this it was necessary that the two other consuls should feel that they were not so much the colleagues as the inferiors of the first consul.

We returned on the 17th of June to Milan, and our second occupation of that city was marked by continued acclamations, wherever the first consul showed himself. At Milan, the first consul now saw Massena for the first time since our departure for Egypt. Bonaparte lavished upon him the highest praises, but not higher than he deserved, for his admirable defence of Genoa. He appointed him his successor in the command of the Army of Italy. Moreau was on the Rhine, and therefore none but the conqueror of Zurich could properly have succeeded the first consul in that command. The first blow was struck ; but there might still occur an emergency, requiring the presence of a skilful, experienced general, well acquainted with the country. And, besides, we could not be perfectly at ease, until it was ascertained what conditions would be adhered to by the cabinet of Vienna, which was then entirely under the influence of the cabinet of London.

The first consul, confirmed in his power by the victory of Marengo, continued a few days longer at Milan, to settle the affairs of Italy, and then set out on his return to Paris. We took the road by Turin, and in passing through that city the first consul spent some hours in visiting the citadel, which had been surrendered to us in pursuance of the capitulations in Alexandria.

I shall say but little of the manifestations of joy and admiration with which Bonaparte was met throughout his journey, for this was always the case whenever he travelled. On arriving at Lyons we alighted at the Hotel des Celestins, where the acclamations of the people were so great, and the multitude so numerous and so eager to have a sight of the first consul, that Bonaparte was obliged to show himself at the balcony. The next day he proceeded, amidst the shouts of the Lyonnese, to lay the first stone of the new *Place de Bellecour*, which was to be erected on the ruins of a great square destroyed by the Jacobins during the revolutionary madness.

We left Lyons in the evening, and continued our journey by Dijon; and there the joy of the inhabitants amounted to frenzy. I have seldom seen a more fascinating sight than that presented by a group of young women of particular beauty and elegance, who, crowned with flowers, accompanied Bonaparte's carriage. It revived all the republican recollections of Greece and Rome, and recalled the chorus of virgins dancing round the victor at the Olympic games.

We arrived at the Tuileries on the 2nd of July, and in an absence of less than two months what wonders had been accomplished!

The enthusiasm of the Parisians exceeded all that has been recorded of any triumphal entry. Night after night every house was illuminated; and day following day the people stood in crowds around the palace, contented if they could but catch one glimpse of the preserver of France.

The effusion of joy was the greater—because the tale of victory came on a people prepared for other tidings. About noontide, on the 14th of June, when the French had been driven out of Marengo, and were apparently in full and disastrous retreat, a commercial traveller left the field, and arriving, after a rapid journey, in Paris, announced that Bonaparte had been utterly defeated

by Melas. It is said that the ill-wishers of the first consul immediately set on foot an intrigue for removing him from the government, and investing Carnot with the chief authority. It is not doubtful that many schemes of hostility had been agitated during Napoleon's absence ; or that, amidst all the clamour and splendour of his triumphant reception in Paris, he wore a gloomy brow ; nor has anyone disputed that from this time he regarded the person of Carnot with jealousy and aversion.

The tidings of the great battle, meanwhile, kindled the emulation of the Rhenish army ; and they burned with the earnest desire to do something worthy of being recorded in the same page with Marengo. But the chief consul, when he granted the armistice to Melas had extended it to the armies on the German frontier likewise ; and Moreau, consequently, could not at once avail himself of the eagerness of his troops. The negotiations which ensued, however, were unsuccessful. The emperor, subsidized as he had been, must have found it very difficult to resist the remonstrances of England against the ratification of any peace in which she should not be included ; and it is natural to suppose that the proud spirit of the Austrian cabinet revolted from setting the seal to an act of humiliation, not yet, as the English government insisted, absolutely necessary. News, meantime, were received of the surrender of Malta to an English expedition under Lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercrombie ;* and this timely piece of good fortune breathed fresh spirit into the Antigallican league. In fine, insincerity and suspicion protracted, from day to day, a negotiation not destined to be concluded until more blood had been shed.

During this armistice, which lasted from the 15th of June to the 10th of November, the exiled princes of the House of Bourbon made some more ineffectual endeavours to induce the chief consul to be the Monk of France.

* On the 5th September, 1800.

The Comte d'Artois took a delicate method of negotiating. He sent a very beautiful and charming lady, the Duchess de Guiche, to Paris ; she without difficulty gained access to Josephine, and shone, for a time, the most brilliant ornament of the consular court. But the moment Napoleon discovered the fair lady's errand, she was ordered to quit the capital within a few hours. These intrigues, however, could not fail to transpire ; and there is no doubt that, at this epoch, the hopes of the royalists were in a high state of excitement.

About this time various attempts were made to assassinate the first consul, and the following is a correct account of that made by Céracchi.

There was at that time in Paris an idle fellow, called Harrel ; he had been a *chef de bataillon*, but he had been dismissed the service, and was consequently dissatisfied. He became connected with Céracchi, Aréna, Topino-Lebrun, and Demerville. From different motives all these individuals were violently hostile to the first consul, who, on his part, was no friend to Céracchi and Aréna, but scarcely knew the two others. These four individuals formed, in conjunction with Harrel, the design of assassinating the first consul, and the time fixed for the perpetration of the deed was one evening when Bonaparte intended to visit the opera.

On the 20th of September, 1800, Harrel came to me at the Tuileries. He revealed to me the plot in which he was engaged, and promised that his accomplices should be apprehended in the very act, if I would supply him with money to bring the plot to maturity. I knew not how to act upon this disclosure, which I however could not reject without incurring too great a responsibility. I immediately communicated the business to the first consul, who ordered me to supply Harrel with money.

The 10th of October having been fixed for the visit of the first consul to the opera, the consuls, on the breaking up of the council of that day, assembled in the cabinet

of their colleague. Bonaparte asked, in my presence, whether they thought he ought to go to the opera. They observed, that as every precaution was taken, there was no reason to apprehend any danger, and that it was proper to show how useless were all attempts against his life. After dinner Bonaparte put on a greatcoat over his green uniform, and got into a coach with Duroc and me. He seated himself in the front of his box, which was at the left entrance, between the two columns which separate the front from the side boxes. In about half an hour, the first consul, keeping Duroc only with him, told me to go and see what was going on in the lobby. I had scarcely left the box when I heard a great noise, and was soon informed that a great number of persons whose names I could not learn, had been arrested. I hastened to inform the first consul, and we immediately returned to the Tuileries. Harrel's name was again placed upon the army list, and he was named commandant of Vincennes.

Although three months intervened between the conspiracy of Céracchi and Aréna, and the horrible attempt of the 3rd Nivose, I will not separate these events, which, however, resemble each other only in having the same object in view. The former conspirators belonged to the revolutionary faction. The latter, it must with grief be confessed, were royalists, and in their desire to take away the life of the first consul, these men were not restrained by the fear of sacrificing the lives of a number of citizens.

On the 3rd Nivose, the first performance of Haydn's magnificent oratorio of the *Creation* took place at the opera, and the first consul had expressed his intention of being present. I did not dine with him that day; but as he left me he said, "Bourrienne, you know I am going to the opera to-night, and you may go too; but I cannot take you in the carriage, as Lannes, Berthier, and Lauriston are going with me." I was very glad of this, for I much wished to hear one of the masterpieces

of the German school of composition. I got to the opera before Bonaparte, who, on his entrance, seated himself, according to custom, in front of the box. The eyes of all present were fixed upon him, and he was perfectly calm and self-possessed. Lauriston, as soon as he saw me, came to my box, and told me that the first consul on his way to the opera had narrowly escaped being assassinated, in the Rue St. Nicaise, by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, the concussion of which had shattered the windows of his carriage. "Within ten seconds of our escape," added Lauriston, "the coachman, having turned the corner of the Rue St. Honore, stopped to take the first consul's orders, and he coolly said, 'Drive to the opera.'"

On hearing this, I immediately left the theatre, and returned to the palace, under the expectation that I should speedily be wanted. Bonaparte soon returned home, and as intelligence of the affair had spread through Paris, the grand saloon, on the ground floor, was filled with a crowd of functionaries, eager to read in the eye of their master what they were to think and say on the occasion. He did not keep them long in suspense. "This," exclaimed he vehemently, "is the work of the Jacobins: they have attempted my life! There are neither nobles, priests, nor Chouans in this affair!—I know myself what I am about, and they need not think to impose on me. These are the Septembrizers, who have been in open revolt and conspiracy, and arrayed against every succeeding government. It is scarce three months since my life was attempted by Céracchi, Aréna, Topino-Lebrun, and Demerville. They all belong to one gang! The cut-throats of September, the assassins of Versailles, the brigands of the 31st of May, the conspirators of Prairial, are the authors of all crimes committed against established governments! If they cannot be restrained, they must be crushed! France must be purged of these ruffians!" It is impossible to form any idea of the bitterness with which Bonaparte pronounced

these words. In vain did some of the councillors of state, and Fouché in particular, endeavour to point out to him that there was no evidence against anyone, and that before he pronounced people to be guilty, it would be right to ascertain the fact. Bonaparte repeated, with increased violence, what he had before said of the Jacobins; thus adding, not without some ground of suspicion, one crime more to the long catalogue for which they had already to answer.

Meanwhile, Fouché, still believing that he was not deceived as to the real authors of the attempt of the 3rd Nivose, set in motion, with his usual dexterity, all the springs of the police. His efforts, however, were for some time unsuccessful; but at length, on Saturday, the 31st of January, 1801, about two hours after our arrival at Malmaison, Fouché presented himself, and produced authentic proofs of the accuracy of his conjectures. There was no longer any doubt on the subject; and Bonaparte saw clearly that the attempt of the 3rd Nivose was the result of a plot hatched by the partisans of royalty.

CHAPTER XI.

THE armistice concluded after the battle of Marengo, which had been first broken and then resumed, continued to be observed for some time between the armies of the Rhine and Italy and the imperial armies. But Austria, bribed by a subsidy of two millions sterling, would not treat for peace unless England was also included. This was quite in character with her usual policy—when beaten in the field she was ever ready to make promises, but she evaded them on the slightest advantage being obtained: and at this time she did not despair of again recommencing the war successfully by the assistance of the money of England.

M. de Saint Julien, on the part of Austria, had signed the preliminaries of peace at Paris, but the court of Vienna disavowed them; and Duroc, whom Bonaparte sent to convey the preliminaries to Vienna for the imperial ratification, was not permitted to pass the Austrian advanced posts. This unexpected proceeding, the result of the powerful influence of England, justly irritated the first consul, who had given proofs of his moderation and his desire for peace.

In his irritation the first consul despatched orders to Moreau to break the armistice, and to recommence hostilities, unless he regained possession of the bridges of the Rhine and the Danube, by the surrender of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt. The Austrians then offered to treat on a new basis, and England wished to take part in the negotiations, but the first consul would not consent to treat with them jointly. England would

not hear of an armistice by sea, like that which France had concluded with Austria by land. She alleged that in case of a rupture France would derive from that armistice greater advantage than Austria would gain by that already concluded. The difficulty and delay attending the necessary communications rendered these reasons plausible. The first consul consented to accept other propositions from England, and to allow her to take part in the discussions of Luneville, but on condition that she should sign a treaty with him without the intervention of Austria. This England refused to do. Weary of this uncertainty, and the tergiversation of Austria, which was still under the influence of England, and feeling that the prolongation of such a state of things could only turn to his disadvantage, Bonaparte broke the armistice. He had already consented to sacrifices which his successes in Italy did not justify. The hope of an immediate peace had alone made him lose sight of the immense advantages which victory had given him.

Far from appearing sensible to the many proofs of moderation which the first consul evinced, the combined insolence of England and Austria seemed only to increase. Orders were immediately given for resuming the offensive in Germany and Italy, and hostilities then recommenced.

The French armies of Italy and Germany passed, the one the Mincio, the other the Danube, and the celebrated battle of Hohenlinden brought the French advanced posts to within ten leagues of Vienna. This victory brought peace; because instructed by past experience, the first consul would not hear of a suspension of arms until Austria consented to a separate treaty. Driven into her last entrenchments, she was obliged to yield and to abandon England. The English cabinet, which had paid two millions, could not prevent this separation. The impatience and indignation of the first consul at the evasions of Austria and the plots of

England can scarcely be conceived, for he was not ignorant of the plans which were carrying on for the restoration of the Bourbons. His joy therefore was great when the victory at Hohenlinden threw all its weight into the scale in his favour. It was on the 3rd of December, 1800, under circumstances by no means favourable, that Moreau gained that celebrated battle, which put an end to the hesitations of the cabinet of Vienna. On the 6th of December, the first consul received the news; it was on a Saturday, and he had just returned from the opera when I delivered him the despatches. He literally leaped for joy. I ought to observe that he did not expect so grand a result from the movements of the army of the Rhine. This victory gave a new feature to the negotiations for peace, and decided the opening of the congress of Luneville, which took place on the 1st of January following.

The following account of the battle of Hohenlinden is taken from Napoleon's Memoirs:—

“On the 1st of December, at break of day, the archduke deployed 60,000 men before the heights of Ampfingen, and attacked Lieutenant-general Grenier, who had only 25,000 men, in front; whilst another of his columns, debouching by the bridge of Crayburg, marched to the heights of Achau, in the rear and on the right flank of Grenier. General Ney was at first obliged to yield to the superior numbers of the enemy, but rallied, returned to the attack, and broke eight battalions; but the enemy continuing to deploy his numerous forces, and debouching by the valleys of the Issen, Lieutenant-general Grenier was compelled to retreat.

“The manœuvre of the Austrian army was a very fine one, and this first success augured others of great importance. But the archduke did not know how to profit by these circumstances; he did not make a vigorous attack on the corps of Grenier, who only lost a few hundred prisoners and two pieces of cannon. On the following day, the 2nd of December, he made only petty

movements, and gave the French army time to rally and recover from its first surprise. He paid dearly for this error, which was the principal cause of the catastrophe of the following day.

“Moreau, having had the whole of the 2nd to reconnoitre his forces, began to hope that he should have sufficient time for all his divisions to join. But the Archduke John, although he had committed the capital error of losing the whole of the 2nd, did not fall into that of losing the 3rd also. At break of day he began to move, and the dispositions made by the French general to effect the junction of his army became useless ; neither Lecourbe’s corps nor that of Sainte-Suzanne could take part in the battle ; the divisions of Richepanse and Decaen fought separately ; they arrived too late on the 3rd to defend the forest of Hohenlinden.

“The Austrian army came on in three columns ; that of the left, consisting of 10,000 men, between the Inn and the Munich road, directing its march on Albichengen and Saint Christopher ; that of the centre, 40,000 strong, proceeded by the road leading from Mühldorf to Munich, by Haag, towards Hohenlinden ; the grand park, the waggons and baggage, took this road, the only one which was firm. The column of the right, 25,000 strong, commanded by General Latour, was to march on Bruckrain.

“The roads were much cut up, as is usual in the month of December ; the columns of the right and left marched by almost impracticable cross-roads ; the snow fell heavily. The column of the centre, followed by the parks and baggage, having the advantage of the high road, soon distanced the others ; its head penetrated into the forest without impediment. Richepanse, who was to have defended it at Altenpot, had not arrived ; but this column was stopped at the village of Hohenlinden, which was the *appui* of Ney’s left, and the station of Grouchy’s division. The French line, which had thought itself covered, was at first surprised ; several

battalions were broken, and some disorder prevailed. Ney hastened up; a terrible charge carried death and consternation into the head of a column of Austrian grenadiers; General Spanochi was taken prisoner. At that moment the vanguard of the Austrian right débouched from the heights of Bruckrain. Ney was obliged to gallop to his left in order to face them; his efforts would have been insufficient had Latour supported his vanguard; but he was two leagues distant from it. In the meantime the divisions of Richepanse and Decaen, which ought to have arrived before daybreak, at the *débouché* of the forest, at the village of Altenpot, being embarrassed in the midst of the night in dreadful roads, and the weather being tremendous, were wandering a great part of the night on the edge of the forest. Richepanse, on arriving at the village of Altenpot, with his division, the 8th, the 48th of the line, and the 1st chasseurs, found himself in the rear of the enemy's parks, and of all his artillery, which had defiled. He passed through the village, and drew up in line on the heights. Eight squadrons of the enemy's cavalry, which formed the rearguard, deployed; the cannonade commenced; the 1st chasseurs charged, and were repulsed. The situation of General Richepanse became more and more critical; he was speedily informed that he was not to depend on Drouet, whose progress had been arrested by considerable forces; and of Decaen he had no intelligence. In this dreadful predicament he took a desperate resolution; leaving General Walter with the cavalry, to keep the cuirassiers of the enemy in check, he entered the forest of Hohenlinden at the head of the 48th and 8th of the line. Three battalions of Hungarian grenadiers forming the escort of the parks, formed; they advanced on Richepanse with the bayonet, taking his soldiers for an irregular force. The 48th overthrew them. This petty engagement decided the fortune of the day. Disorder and alarm spread through the convoy: the drivers cut their traces and fled, abandoning eighty-seven pieces of cannon

and three hundred waggons. The confusion of the rear spread to the van. Those columns which were far advanced in the defiles fell into disorder ; they were struck with the recollection of the disastrous campaign of the summer ; besides which they were in great measure composed of recruits. Ney and Richepanse joined. The Archduke John retreated with the utmost confusion and precipitation on Haag, with the wreck of his corps.

“ The evening after the battle, the headquarters of the French army were transferred to Haag. In this battle, which decided the success of the campaign, six French divisions, composing half the army, alone engaged almost the whole of the Austrian army. The forces on the field of battle were nearly equal, being about 70,000 men on each side. But the Archduke John could not possibly have assembled a greater number, whilst Moreau might have brought twice as many into the field. The loss of the French army was 10,000 men, killed, wounded, and taken, either at the actions of Dorfen, Ampfingen, or at the battle of Hohenlinden. That of the enemy amounted to 25,000 men, exclusive of deserters. Seven thousand prisoners, amongst whom were two generals, one hundred pieces of cannon, and an immense number of waggons, were the trophies of this day.”

The hopes of Austria having been again destroyed by the fatal battle of Hohenlinden, she had now no other alternative but to conclude peace on the best terms she could obtain. The definitive treaty was signed at Luneville on the 9th of February, 1801 ; by which the emperor, not only as the head of the Austrian monarchy, but also in his quality of chief of the German empire, guaranteed to France the boundary of the Rhine ; thereby sacrificing certain possessions of Prussia, and other subordinate princes of the empire, as well as his own. Another article, extremely distasteful to Austria, yielded Tuscany, which Napoleon resolved to transfer to a prince of the House of Parma, in requital of the good offices of Spain during the war. The emperor recognized

the union of the Batavian Republic with the French ;— and acknowledged the Cisalpine and Ligurian commonwealths : both virtually provinces of the great empire, over which the authority of the first consul seemed now to be permanently established.

England was now the only power which continued steadfast in her hostility to France ; and the first consul used all the influence which he possessed to bring about the alliance of the northern powers of Europe against her. It has already been stated that the half-crazy emperor of Russia had taken up a violent personal admiration for Bonaparte, and under the influence of that feeling had virtually abandoned Austria before the campaign of Marengo. The first consul took every means to flatter the autocrat, and secure him in his interests.

The result was, in effect, a coalition against the mistress of the seas : and, at the opening of the nineteenth century, England had to contemplate the necessity of encountering single-handed the colossal military force of France, and the combined fleets of Europe.

Early in March, 1801, Admiral Sir Hyde Parker and Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson conducted a fleet into the Baltic, with the view of attacking the northern powers in their own harbours, ere they could effect their meditated junction with the fleets of France and Holland. The English passed the Sound on the 13th of March, and reconnoitred the road of Copenhagen, where the Crown-Prince, Regent of Denmark, had made formidable preparations to receive them. It was on the 2nd of April that Nelson, who had volunteered to lead the assault, having at length obtained a favourable wind, advanced with twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships, upon the Danish armament, which consisted of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, and an enormous array of small craft, all chained to each other and to the ground, and protected by the crown-batteries, mounting eighty-eight guns, and the fortifications of

the isle of Amack. The battle lasted for four hours, and ended in a signal victory. Some few schooners and bomb-vessels fled early, and escaped: the whole Danish fleet, besides, were sunk, burnt, or taken. The Prince Regent, to save the capital from destruction, was compelled to enter into negotiation, which ended in the abandonment of the French alliance by Denmark. Lord Nelson then reconnoitred Stockholm; but, being unwilling to inflict unnecessary suffering, did not injure the city, on discovering that the Swedish fleet had already put to sea. Meantime, news arrived that Paul had been assassinated in his palace at St. Petersburg; and that the policy which he had adopted, to the displeasure of the Russian nobility, was likely to find no favour with his successor. The moving spirit of the northern confederacy was, in effect, no more, and a brief negotiation ended in its total disruption.

Paul I. fell by a revolution of the palace, and under the hands of assassins, on the night of the 24th of March, 1801. This event caused the first consul much pain. In accordance with the feeling which this unexpected event occasioned him, and which had so important an influence on his policy, he directed me to have the following note inserted in the *Moniteur*:—

“Paul the First died on the night of the 24th of March; the English squadron passed the Sound on the 30th. History will point out the connection existing between these two events.”

Thus were united in his mind the crime of the 24th of March and the not ill-founded suspicion, as I believe, of its authors.

The amicable relations of Paul and Bonaparte had been drawing closer from day to day. Bonaparte said to me, “In concert with the Czar, I was sure of striking a mortal blow at the English power in India. A palace revolution has upset all my projects.” This resolution, and the admiration which the autocrat had for the chief of the French Republic, ought, no doubt, to be reckoned

among the causes of his death. At this time the persons generally accused were those who had been most perseveringly and most violently threatened, and who had the greatest interest in a change of emperors. I have read a letter from a northern sovereign, which has left no doubt upon my mind in this respect ; and the letter of this august personage even mentioned the price of the crime, as well as the part to be taken by each actor. But it must be acknowledged that the conduct and the character of Paul, his tyrannical acts, his violent caprices, and the frequent excesses of his despotism, had rendered him the object of general hatred—for patience has its limits. These causes of complaint did not probably create the conspiracy, but they greatly facilitated the execution of the plot which deprived the Czar of his throne and his life.

About this period a powerful party recommended Bonaparte to break with the Pope, and to establish an independent Gallican Church, the head of which should reside in France. They represented that by doing so he would acquire a great accession of power, and be able to establish a comparison between himself and the first Roman emperors. But his wishes did not coincide with theirs on this subject. "I am convinced," said he, "that a part of France would become Protestant, especially if I was to favour that disposition. I am also certain that the much greater portion would continue Catholic, and that they would oppose with the greatest zeal the division amongst their fellow-citizens. But by reviving a religion which has always prevailed in the country, and by merely giving the liberty of exercising their worship to the minority, I shall satisfy every one."

Bonaparte justly considered that by re-establishing religion in France, he should procure a powerful support to his government ; and to accomplish that object he had been much occupied since his return from the field of Marengo. The concordate with the Pope, which re-established the Catholic worship in France, was signed

on the 15th of July, 1801, and made a law of the state in April, 1802.

A solemn *Te Deum* was chanted at the cathedral of Notre Dame, on Sunday, the 11th of April. The crowd was immense, and the greater part of those present stood during the ceremony, which was splendid in the extreme; but who would presume to say that the general feeling was in harmony with all this pomp? It is unquestionably true that a great number of persons present at the ceremony expressed, in their countenances and gestures, rather a feeling of impatience and displeasure, than of satisfaction or of reverence for the place in which they were.

The consular court was, in general, extremely irreligious; nor could it be expected to be otherwise, being composed chiefly of those who had assisted in the annihilation of all religious worship in France, and of men who, having passed their lives in camps, had oftener entered a church in Italy to carry off a painting than to hear the mass. Those who, without being imbued with any religious ideas, possessed that good sense which induces men to pay respect to the belief of others, though it be one in which they do not participate, did not blame the first consul for his conduct, and conducted themselves with some regard to decency. But on the road from the Tuileries to Notre Dame, Lannes and Augereau wanted to alight from the carriage, as soon as they saw that they were being driven to mass, and it required an order from the first consul to prevent their doing so. They went, therefore, to Notre Dame, and the next day Bonaparte asked Augereau what he thought of the ceremony. "Oh! it was all very fine," replied the general; "there was nothing wanting except the million of men who have perished in the pulling down of what you are setting up." Bonaparte was much displeased at this remark.

In April, 1801, there arrived one evening, at Malmaison, an English newspaper, which announced the

successful landing in Egypt of the English army under Abercrombie, on the 13th of March, and also giving an account of the battle which followed on the 21st, in which our army was defeated, and the English general killed. Bonaparte at first affected not to believe the intelligence, and stated in the midst of the company that it was impossible. But in the evening, when alone, he expressed his fears and his conviction that the accounts were too true. It seemed to distress him very much ; for of all his conquests, he set the highest value on Egypt, because it spread his fame throughout the East. Accordingly, he left nothing unattempted for the preservation of that colony. In a letter to General Kleber, he said: " You are as able as I am to understand how important is the possession of Egypt to France. The Turkish empire, in which the symptoms of decay are everywhere discernible, is at present falling to pieces, and the evil of the evacuation of Egypt by France would now be the greater, as we should soon see that fine province pass into the possession of some other European power." The selection of Gantheaume, however, to carry succour to Kleber was not judicious. The first consul, upon finding that he did not leave Brest after he had been ordered to the Mediterranean, repeatedly said to me, " What the devil is Gantheaume about ? "

Gantheaume's hesitation, his frequent tergiversations, his arrival at Toulon, his tardy departure, and his return to that port on the 19th of February, 1801, only ten days prior to Admiral Keith's appearance with Sir Ralph Abercrombie off Alexandria, completely foiled all the plans which Bonaparte had conceived of conveying succour and reinforcements to a colony on the brink of destruction.

The first consul had long been apprehensive that the evacuation of Egypt was unavoidable. The last news he had received from that country was but little encouraging, and created a presentiment of the dreadful

catastrophe. In the negotiations which preceded the peace of Amiens we made a great merit of abandoning our conquests in Egypt ; but the sacrifice would not have been considered great, if the events which took place at the end of August had been known in London, before the signing of the preliminaries on the 1st of October. Under the fear of such an event taking place, the first consul himself answered M. Otto's last despatch, which contained a copy of the preliminaries ready to be adopted by the English ministry. Neither the despatch nor the answer was communicated to M. de Talleyrand, then Minister for Foreign Affairs. The first consul urged the ratification of the preliminaries with all possible speed ; and it was well for us that his fears were so much excited, for the news of the compulsory evacuation of Egypt arrived in London the day after the signing of the preliminaries. M. Otto informed the first consul, by letter, that Lord Hawkesbury, in communicating to him the news of this event, told him he was very glad everything was settled, for it would have been impossible for him to have treated on the same basis after the arrival of such news. In reality, we consented at Paris to the voluntary evacuation of Egypt, and that was something for England, while Egypt was at that very time evacuated by a convention made on the spot. The evacuation of Egypt took place on the 30th of August, 1801 ; and thus the conquest of that country, which had cost so dear, was rendered useless, or rather injurious.

By this treaty England surrendered all the conquests which she had made during the war, except Ceylon and Trinidad. France, on the other hand, restored what she had taken from Portugal, and guaranteed the independence of the Ionian Isles. Malta was to be restored to the Knights of St. John, and declared a free port : neither England nor France was to have any representative in the Order, and the garrison was to consist of the troops of a neutral power. This article was that which caused

the greatest difficulty, and which was destined to form the pretext for the re-opening of the war at no distant time.

The definitive treaty was signed on the 25th of March, 1802, and nothing could surpass the demonstrations of joy on this occasion, both in London and Paris.

CHAPTER XII.

PEACE having been concluded on terms which were highly honourable to the national character, all parties hoped that the sanguinary wars in which the country had been engaged would now have terminated, and that France would be left at liberty to adopt those institutions which would be agreeable to herself. But the brilliant position in which the peace of Amiens had placed France seemed to excite the jealousy of her neighbours, and to produce those feelings which are opposed to the repose of nations. In fact, we shall see that war broke out afresh with unusual animosity, and from very trifling causes.

At this period the consular glory was unsullied, and held in prospect the most flattering hopes; and it cannot be doubted, but that the first consul was really desirous to promote peace and to give repose to France.

In the leisure which the peace afforded to Bonaparte he was desirous to place the Cisalpine republic on a footing of harmony with the government of France. It was necessary to select a president who should perfectly accord with his own views; and, in this respect, no one could be more suitable than himself. He therefore prepared to have himself appointed chief of that republic, and caused a deputation to meet him at Lyons for that purpose. Before our departure I said to him, "Would it not have been agreeable to you to revisit Italy, the first scene of your glory, and the beautiful capital of Lombardy, where you were the object of so much homage?" "Yes, it certainly would," replied

the first consul; "but the journey to Milan would occupy too much time. I have also reasons for preferring that the meeting should take place in France. My influence over the deputies will be more absolute and certain at Lyons than at Milan; and besides, I shall be very happy to see again the noble wreck of the army of Egypt which is there collected."

On the 8th of January, 1802, we left Paris. Bonaparte, who was now ready to ascend the throne of France, wished to prepare the Italians for one day crowning him king of Italy, in imitation of Charlemagne, of whom he prospectively considered himself as successor. He saw that the presidency of the Cisalpine republic was a great advance towards the sovereignty of Lombardy, as he afterwards found that the consulate for life was an important step towards the throne of France. On the 26th he obtained the title of president without much difficulty. The journey and the conferences were only forms, but public opinion had to be captivated by high-sounding words and solemn proceedings.

The attempts recently made on the life of the first consul gave rise to a report that he took extraordinary precautions for his safety during this journey; I never saw any of these precautions—they were opposed to his disposition. He often repeated that whoever would risk his own life, might take his. He therefore travelled as a private person, and rarely had arms in his carriage.

On the 25th of March of this year (1802) England signed, at Amiens, a suspension of hostilities for fourteen months, which has been called the treaty of Amiens. The clauses of this treaty were not of a nature to induce the hope of a long peace. It was evident that England would not evacuate Malta; and that island ultimately proved the chief cause of the rupture of the peace. But this treaty served to consolidate the power of the first consul, for England, formerly so haughty in her bearing towards him, had now treated him as the head of the French government. As he perceived that I

appreciated these advantages, he did not dissemble his satisfaction in this particular.

It was at this moment, when he saw his glory and power augmenting, that he said to me, in one of our walks at Malmaison, "Well, Bourrienne, you will also be immortal!"—"Why, General?"—"Are you not my secretary?"—"Tell me the name of Alexander's,"* said I. Bonaparte then turned to me, and laughing, said, "Hem! that is not bad." There was, to be sure, a little flattery conveyed in my question, but that never displeased him, and I certainly did not in that instance deserve the censure he often bestowed on me, for not being enough of a courtier and flatterer.

After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte had despatched General Sebastiani to Constantinople, to induce the Grand Seignior to renew his amicable relations with France, and he was very much pleased with his conduct on this occasion.

Previous to the evacuation of Egypt, that country had occupied much of the first consul's attention, and he had contemplated sending a man, such as Sebastiani, to travel through Northern Africa, Egypt, and Syria, to endeavour to inspire the sovereigns of those countries with a more favourable idea of France than they now entertained, and also to remove the ill impressions which England was endeavouring to produce. Sebastiani was accordingly despatched upon this mission. He visited all the Barbary states, Egypt, Palestine, and the Ionian Isles. Everywhere he drew a highly coloured picture of the power of Bonaparte, and depreciated the glory of England. He strengthened old connections, and contracted new ones with the chiefs of each country. The secret information which he supplied respecting the means of successfully attacking the English establishments in India was very curious, though not affording the hope of success. An abstract of these reports was

* Bonaparte did not know the name of Alexander's secretary, and I forgot at the moment to tell him it was Callisthenes.

published in the *Moniteur*, which contained many expressions hostile to England; and, among others, that Egypt might be reconquered with 6,000 men, and that the Ionian Islands would on the first favourable opportunity declare themselves in favour of France.

The English government complained of the insulting character of this publication; to which the French minister replied, that the English government had permitted the publication of Sir Robert Wilson's Narrative of the Egyptian expedition, which contained statements in the highest degree injurious to the character and honour of the first consul. These mutual recriminations very soon led to the termination of the armistice.

About the commencement of the year 1802, Napoleon began to feel acute pains in his right side, and I have frequently seen him at Malmaison, when sitting up at night, lean against the right arm of his chair, and, unbuttoning his coat and waistcoat, he has exclaimed, "What pain I feel!" I would then assist him to his bed-chamber, and have often been obliged to support him on the little staircase which led from his cabinet to the corridor. He very frequently, about this time, used to express his fear, that when he should be forty he would become a great eater and very corpulent. This fear of obesity, which constantly haunted him, did not then appear to have the least foundation, judging from his habitual temperance and spare habit of body. He asked me who was my physician, when I told him that it was Corvisart, whom his brother Louis had recommended to me. A few days after he called in Corvisart, who afterwards became first physician to the emperor. He appeared at this time to derive much benefit from his prescriptions. The pain Bonaparte suffered increased his irritability, and influenced many acts of this period of his life. He would often destroy in the morning what he had dictated over-night; and sometimes I would take upon me to keep back articles which were ordered to be sent to the *Moniteur*, which I thought

might have a mischievous effect. In the morning he would sometimes inquire, on not observing it in the *Moniteur*, if the article had been sent. I used to make some excuse for not sending it, and would show it to him again. He looked it over and usually tore it up, saying it would not do.

In April, 1802, the first consul employed all his efforts to get himself declared consul for life. It is, perhaps, at this period that he most completely developed those principles of duplicity and dissimulation, which are commonly called Machiavelian. Never were trickery, falsehood, cunning, and affected moderation put into practice with more talent or success.

His brother Lucien was the most violent propagator of hereditary power and the stability of a dynasty; but in this he only acted under the direction of his brother. Liberty rejected an unlimited power, and had set bounds as yet, in some degree, to excessive love of war and conquest. "The decenniality," said he to me, "does not satisfy me: I consider it calculated to excite unceasing troubles." He had formerly observed to me, "The question whether France will be a republic is still doubtful; it will be decided in less than five or six years." It was clear that he thought this too long a term. Whether he regarded France as his property, or considered himself as the defender of the people's rights, I know not, but I am convinced he sincerely desired her welfare; but then that welfare was, in his mind, inseparable from absolute power. It was with pain I perceived him following this course.

The friends of liberty, those who sincerely wished to maintain a government constitutionally free, allowed themselves to be prevailed upon to consent to an extension of ten years of power, beyond the ten years formerly granted by the constitution. They made this sacrifice to glory, and to that power which was its consequence; and they were far from thinking, at the time, that they were lending themselves to intrigue.

They were thus far in favour ; but only for the time. The senate rejected the nomination of the consulship for life, and only added ten years more.

The first consul was displeased with their decision ; but he returned a calm and evasive reply to their address, in which he stated, that he would submit to this new sacrifice, if the wish of the people demanded what the senate authorized—thus nourishing his favourite hope of obtaining more from the people than from them.

An extraordinary convocation of the council of state took place on Monday, the 10th of May, to which a communication was made, not merely of the senate's consultation, but also of the first consul's reply. The council regarded the first merely as a notification, and proceeded to consider on what question the people should be consulted. Not satisfied with granting to the first consul an extension of ten years, they were so desirous to comply with his wishes, as to decide that the following question should be put to the people :—“ Should the first consul be appointed for life ? and shall he have the power of nominating his successor ? ” The decisions on these questions were carried as if by storm. The appointment for life passed unanimously, and the right of naming the successor by a majority. The first consul, however, formally condemned this second measure ; he declared that it had not originated with himself. On receiving the decision of the council of state, the first consul, to conceal his plan for obtaining absolute power, thought it advisable to reject a part of what had been offered him. He therefore cancelled that part which proposed to give him the power of appointing a successor, and which had passed with so small a majority.

We have now beheld Bonaparte first consul for life ; but, still unsatisfied with this distinction, he very shortly afterwards, in the committee occupied with the consideration of the new code of laws, expressed his opinion

in favour of the Roman law of adoption ; urging, with his usual tact, that an heir so chosen ought to be dearer than a son. The object of this opinion was not difficult of detection—he no longer had any hope of having children by Josephine, and he meditated the adoption of one of his brother's sons as his heir. In the course of the autumn, a simple edict of the Conservative senate authorized him to appoint his successor in the consulate, by a testamentary deed. By this act (August the 4th, 1802), a new dynasty was called to the throne of France, and from this time the words “ Liberty, Equality, Sovereignty of the People,” disappeared from the state papers and official documents of the government.

The republic had now ceased to be anything else than a fiction, or an historical recollection. All that remained of it was a deceptive inscription on the gates of the palace. Even previously to his installation at the Tuileries, Bonaparte had caused the two trees of liberty which were planted in the court to be thrown down ; thus removing the outward emblems before he destroyed the reality. But the moment the *senatus consulta* of the 2nd and 4th of August were published it was evident to the dullest perceptions that the power of the first consul wanted nothing but a name.

After these *senatus consulta*, Bonaparte readily accustomed himself to regard the principal authorities of the state merely as necessary instruments for the exercise of his power. Interested advisers then crowded around him. It was seriously proposed that he should restore the ancient titles, as being more in harmony with the new power which the people had confided to him, than the republican forms. He was of opinion, however, according to his phrase, that “ the pear was not yet ripe,” and would not hear this project spoken of for a moment. “ All this,” he said to me one day, “ will come in good time ; but you must see, Bourrienne, that it is necessary I should, in the first place, assume a

title, from which the others that I shall give will naturally take their origin. The greatest difficulty is surmounted. There is no longer any person to deceive. Everybody sees as clear as day that it is only one step which separates the throne from the consulate for life. However, we must be cautious. There are some troublesome fellows in the tribunate—but I will take care of them.”

Two qualities predominated in his disposition—kindness and impatience. Impatience, when he was under its influence, got the better of him, and it was then impossible to control him. I shall add an instance of the latter, which occurred about this very period.

Canova having arrived at Paris, came to St. Cloud to model the figure of the first consul, of whom he was about to execute a colossal statue. This great artist came often, in the hope to get his model to stand in the proper attitude; but Bonaparte was so tired, disgusted, and impatient that he very seldom put himself in the proper attitude, and then only for a very short time. Bonaparte, however, retained the highest regard for Canova. Whenever he was announced, the first consul sent me to keep him company until he was at leisure to give him an interview; but he would shrug up his shoulders and say, “More modelling,—good heavens! how tiresome!” Canova often expressed to me his disappointment at not being able to study his model as he wished, and at the little anxiety of Bonaparte on the subject—this damped the ardour of his imagination. Everyone agrees in saying that he has not succeeded, and the above may be considered as the reason. The Duke of Wellington now possesses this colossal statue. It is so high that, as Lord Byron says, the Duke of Wellington just comes up to the middle of Napoleon’s body.

Bonaparte saw in men only helps and obstacles to the designs he had in view. On the 18th Brumaire, Fouché was a help; but now he was considered an

obstacle, and it was necessary to think of dismissing him. Many of the first consul's sincere friends had from the beginning been opposed to Fouché having any share in the government; but his influence was such that whoever opposed him was sure to fall into disgrace. Throughout Paris, and, indeed, throughout France, Fouché had obtained an extraordinary credit for ability; but his principal talent was in making others believe that he really possessed it. Bonaparte had been long dissatisfied with his conduct, as he had reason to believe that the police minister had been practising a system of deception upon him, so as to increase his own importance. He decided upon his dismissal; but such was the influence that Fouché possessed over him, that he was desirous to proceed with caution. Therefore, to disguise the removal of the minister, he resolved upon the suppression of the Ministry of Police, and assigned as his reason for so doing, that it would give strength to his government, by showing his confidence in the security and internal tranquillity of France. Fouché, overpowered by the arguments brought forward by the first consul, was unable to urge any good reason in opposition to them, and only recommended that the execution of the design should be delayed for at least two years. Bonaparte seemed to listen favourably to Fouché's recommendation; but that was only whilst in his presence; his dismissal was already decided upon, which accordingly took place on the evening of the 12th of September. After this act, respecting which he had hesitated so long, Bonaparte still endeavoured to modify his rigour by appointing Fouché a senator; in the notification of which to the senate he stated: "That Fouché, as Minister of Police in times of difficulty, had, by his talent, his activity, and his attachment to the government, done all that circumstances required of him. Placed in the bosom of the senate, if events should again call for a Minister of Police, the government cannot find one more worthy of its confidence."

Such is the history of Fouché's disgrace—no one was more afflicted at it than Josephine, who only learned the news when it was announced to the public. She on all occasions defended Fouché against her husband's sallies, for she believed that he was the only minister who told him the truth, and because he was opposed to Bonaparte's brothers.

Josephine, whose susceptibility appears to me, even now, excusable, knew well my sentiments on the subject of Bonaparte's founding a dynasty; and she had not forgotten my conduct when, two years before, the question had been agitated on the occasion of Louis XVIII.'s letters to the first consul. I remember that, one day, after the publication of the parallel of Cæsar, Cromwell, and Bonaparte, Josephine, having entered our cabinet without being announced, which she sometimes did, when, from the good-humour exhibited at breakfast, she reckoned upon its continuance, approached Bonaparte softly, seated herself on his knee, passed her hand gently through his hair and over his face, and, thinking the moment favourable, said to him, in a burst of tenderness, "I entreat of you, Bonaparte, do not make yourself a king! It is that Lucien who urges you to it. Do not listen to him." Bonaparte replied, without anger, and even smiling as he pronounced the last words, "You are mad, my poor Josephine. It is your old dowagers of the Faubourg Saint-Germain, your Rochefoucaulds, who tell you all these fables! . . . Come now, you interrupt me—leave me alone." What Bonaparte said that day good-naturedly to his wife, I often heard him declare seriously. I have been present at five or six altercations on the subject. That there existed, too, an enmity connected with this question between the family of Beauharnois and the family of Bonaparte cannot be denied.

At this dazzling period of his career the first consul neglected no opportunity of endeavouring to obtain, at the same time, the admiration of the multitude and the

approbation of sensible men. Thus he displayed sufficient attachment to the arts, and was sensible that the promotion of industry demanded the protection of the government ; but it must be acknowledged that he rendered that protection of little value by the continual violations he committed on that liberty which is the invigorating principle of all improvement. During the autumn of 1802 there was held at the Louvre, under the direction of M. Chaptal, an exhibition of the products of industry, which was highly gratifying to the first consul. He seemed proud of the high degree of perfection the industrial arts had attained in France, and particularly on account of the exhibition exciting the admiration of the numerous foreigners who, during the peace, resorted to Paris. In fact, during the year 1802, the capital presented an interesting and animated spectacle. All Paris flocked to the Carrousel on review-days, and regarded with delight the unusual sight of the vast number of English and Russians, who drove about in splendid carriages. Never since the assembling of the States General had the theatres been so well frequented, or fêtes so magnificent, and never since that period had the capital presented an aspect so cheering. Everywhere an air of prosperity was visible, and Bonaparte proudly claimed to be regarded as its author.

While Paris appeared thus flourishing, the departments were in a state of perfect tranquillity, and foreign affairs had every appearance of security. The re-establishment of external worship was, without doubt, one principal cause of such a happy state of things. The court of Rome, which, since the concordate, may be said to have become devoted to the first consul, gave every proof of her submission to the wishes of France. The first consul prided himself on having succeeded, at least in appearance, over the scruples of those around him who were opposed to the re-establishment of worship ; and he read with much satisfaction the reports that were made to him, in which it was stated that the churches

were well frequented. Indeed, during the whole of the year 1802, he directed his attention to the reformation of manners, which had become very dissolute during the storms of the revolution. The first consul took advantage of the good feeling the Pope had expressed towards him to advance his uncle, Monsieur Fesch, to the highest honours of the Church. On the 15th of August, 1802, he was consecrated bishop, and the following year received the cardinal's hat. Bonaparte afterwards gave him the archbishopric of Lyons, of which he is still the titular.

We were now at peace with all the world, and every circumstance tended to place in the hands of the first consul that absolute power which he desired, and which indeed was the only kind of government of which he was capable of forming any conception. One characteristic distinction of his government, even under the denomination of consular, gave no doubtful evidence of his real intentions. Had he designed to establish a free government, it is quite evident that he would have made the ministers responsible to the country ; whereas he took care that there should be no responsibility but to himself. He beheld his ministers only as instruments to carry his intentions into effect, and which he might use as he pleased. This circumstance alone was sufficient to disclose all his future designs ; and, in order to make this irresponsibility of ministers perfectly clear to the public, all government acts were signed only by M. Maret, then Secretary of State. Thus the consulship for life was nothing but an empire in disguise, and even this did not long satisfy the ambition of the first consul ; he resolved to found a new dynasty. This object was attended with many difficulties, and he felt the delicacy of his position ; but he knew how to face obstacles, and he had been accustomed to overcome them. It was not from the interior of France that he apprehended any difficulty to arise, but he had reason to fear that foreign powers would not view with satis-

faction the re-establishment of the monarchy in a new family. So long as the throne was unoccupied, the question respecting the Bourbons was, in some measure, kept back, but the monarchical form being revived to their exclusion naturally created an alarm amongst the family of kings. Bonaparte laboured to establish in France, not only an absolute monarchy, but, what is still worse, a military one. He considered a decree signed by his hand to be possessed of some magic power, capable of at once transforming his generals into able diplomatists ; and so he sent them on embassies, as if to indicate to the sovereigns to whom they were accredited that he would one day take their thrones by assault.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE first consul never calculated upon a long peace with England, but he wished for peace because it was anxiously desired by the people, after ten years of war, and because it would increase his popularity and enable him to lay the foundation of his government. Peace was as necessary to enable Bonaparte to conquer the throne of France as war was essential to secure it, and to extend its boundaries at the expense of the other thrones of Europe. This was the secret of the peace of Amiens, and of the rupture which so suddenly followed, but it must be admitted that the war was resumed much earlier than the first consul wished. On the great questions of peace and war, Bonaparte entertained elevated ideas ; but in discussing the subject he always declared himself in favour of war, and considered as nothing the evils which it occasioned so long as England possessed so much influence in the cabinets of Europe. It was evident that England desired war, and he was anxious to prevent her from anticipating him. He said "Why allow her to have all the advantages of the first step? We must astonish Europe! We must strike a great and unexpected blow." Thus reasoned the first consul, and we are to judge whether his actions were not equal to his sentiments.

England, by neglecting to execute her treaties, encouraged his love for war, and justified the prompt declaration of hostilities in the eyes of the French nation, whom he wished to persuade that if peace was broken it would be contrary to his own wishes. This state of uncertainty

did not continue long, for the King of England sent a message to parliament, in which he alluded to armaments preparing in the ports of France, and to the necessity of adopting precautions against meditated aggressions. This instance of bad faith irritated the first consul, and led him one day at a public levee to address Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, in a very abrupt manner in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors.

“What is the meaning of all this ?” said Bonaparte ; “are you tired of peace ? Must Europe again be deluged with blood ? Preparations for war, indeed ! Do you think to overcome us in this manner ? You will see that France may be conquered but never intimidated ; never !”

The English ambassador was quite astounded at this abrupt attack, to which he made no reply, but satisfied himself with communicating an account of the interview to his government. This conduct on the part of the first consul was made the excuse for the recall of Lord Whitworth and for the renewal of hostilities, but had England not wished for war, such trifling causes could scarcely have produced it.

When the misunderstanding between France and England took place, each might have reproached the other with a want of faith, but justice was apparently on the side of France. It was evident that England, by refusing to give up Malta, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, had been guilty of a breach of that treaty, whereas all that France could be charged with was an apparent tendency not to adhere to it. But it must be admitted that this tendency on the part of France to increase her territory was evident by the fact of her having incorporated Piedmont with France, as well as Parma and Placenza, which was done by the sole authority of Bonaparte. It may therefore be supposed that the internal prosperity of France and the ambition of her ruler was the cause of uneasiness to

England. But this was no excuse for her own decided bad faith in refusing to withdraw her troops from Malta within three months from the signing of the treaty ; and now more than a year had elapsed, and the troops were still there. The order of Malta was to be restored as it formerly was ; that is to say, it was to remain a sovereign and independent order, under the protection of the Holy See. The three cabinets of Vienna, Berlin, and St Petersburg were to guarantee the execution of the treaty.

Bonaparte was at St. Cloud when Lord Whitworth left Paris, on the 12th of May, 1803. Fifteen days were spent in attempts to resume negotiations, but without success, and therefore war was the only alternative. The first consul, before he made his final preparations, addressed a message to the Senate, to the Legislative Body, and to the Tribunate. In this message he mentioned the recall of the English ambassador, the renewal of hostilities, the unexpected message of the King of England to the parliament, and the armaments which immediately followed in the British ports. " In vain," he said, " had France tried every means to induce England to abide by the treaty. She has repelled every overture, and increased the insolence of her demands—but France will not submit to menaces, but will combat for the faith of treaties and for the honour of her name, confidently trusting that the result of the contest will be such as she has a right to expect from the justness of her cause and from the bravery of her people."

This message was dignified, and free from that boasting in which Bonaparte so frequently indulged. The reply of the Senate was accompanied by a vote of a ship of the line, to be paid for out of the allowance made to the Senate. With his usual address, Bonaparte, in acting for himself, spoke in the name of the people, just as he had done on the question of the consulate for life. But what he did then for his own interest, as I have frequently stated, turned out for the advantage of the Bourbons.

Bonaparte, though not yet a sovereign, absolutely required that the King of England should renounce the empty title of King of France, which had been always kept up as if to intimate that old pretensions were not abandoned. This proposition was acceded to, and to this circumstance was owing the disappearance of the title of King of France from among the titles of the King of England at the treaty of Paris on the return of the Bourbons.

The first grievance complained of by England was the prohibition of English merchandise, which had become more rigid since the peace than during the war. This avowal on the part of Great Britain might well have dispensed with any other ground of complaint ; but the truth is, she was alarmed at the aspect of our internal prosperity, and at the impulse given to our manufactures. The English government had hoped to obtain such a commercial treaty as would have been a death-blow to our rising trade ; but Bonaparte opposed this, and from the very circumstance of his refusal he might easily have foreseen the rupture at which he appeared surprised.

It was evident that the disappointment in regard to the commercial treaty was the cause of the animosity of the English government, as this circumstance was alluded to in the declaration of the King of England. In that document it was complained that France had sent a number of persons to reside at the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, in the quality of commercial agents, which character and the privileges belonging to it they could only have acquired by a commercial treaty. Such was, in my opinion, the real cause of the complaints of England ; but as it would have seemed ridiculous to have made it the ground for a declaration of war, she enumerated other grievances, viz.—the union of Piedmont and of the States of Parma and Placenza with France, and the continuance of the French troops in Holland. Much was said about the views and projects of France, with respect to Turkey, and this complaint originated in

General Sebastiani, of whom I have already spoken, having been sent to Egypt. Upon this point I can take upon me to say that the English government was not misinformed. Bonaparte too frequently spoke to me of his ideas respecting the East, and of his project for finding means of attacking the English power in India, to leave any doubt of his having renounced it. The result of all the reproaches which the two governments addressed to each other was that neither acted with good faith.

When hostilities recommenced with England, Bonaparte was quite unprepared in most branches of the service—from the numerous grants of leave of absence, the wretched condition of the cavalry, and the temporary nullity of the artillery, in consequence of a project for refounding all the field-pieces. But these difficulties were overcome as if by magic. He had recourse to the conscription to complete his army—the project for refounding the artillery was abandoned—money was obtained from the large towns, and the occupation of Hanover, which soon followed, furnished an abundant supply of good horses for mounting the cavalry.

The peace of Amiens had been broken about seven months, when, on the 15th of December, 1803, the first consul sent for me to the Tuileries. His incomprehensible conduct towards me was still fresh in my mind ; * and as it was upwards of a year since I had seen him, I confess I did not feel quite at ease when I received his summons. The truth is, I was so much alarmed that I took the precaution of taking with me a nightcap, lest I should be sent to sleep at Vincennes.

On the day appointed for the interview, Rapp was on duty. I did not conceal from him the fears which I entertained as to the possible result of my visit. “ You need not be afraid,” said Rapp, “ the first consul merely wishes to talk with you.” He then announced me.

* In November, 1802, Bourrienne had, under somewhat unpleasant circumstances, resigned his position of Secretary to Napoleon.

Bonaparte came into the grand saloon where I awaited him, and addressing me in the most good-humoured way, inquired, after having made a few trifling observations, "What do they say of my preparations for the descent upon England?" "General," I replied, "there is a great difference of opinion on the subject. Everyone speaks as he would wish it. Suchet, for instance, who comes to see me very often, does not doubt but that it will take place, and hopes to give you on that occasion a fresh proof of his gratitude and fidelity." "But Suchet tells me that you do not believe it." "That is true; I certainly do not." "Why?" "Because you told me at Antwerp, five years ago, that you would not risk France on the cast of a die—that it was too hazardous—and nothing has changed since that time to render it more probable." "You are right; those who believe in a descent are blockheads. They do not see the affair in its true light. I can doubtless land with one hundred thousand men. A great battle will be fought, which I shall gain; but I must calculate upon thirty thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. If I march on London, a second battle will be fought; I shall suppose myself again victorious; but what shall I do in London with an army reduced three-fourths, and without a hope of reinforcements? It would be madness. Until our navy acquires superiority, it would be a perilous project. This great assemblage of troops in the north has another object. My government must be the first, or it must fall." Bonaparte then evidently wished to deceive with respect to his intentions, and he did so. He wished it to be believed that he intended a descent upon England, merely to fix the attention of Europe in that direction. It was at Dunkirk that he caused all the various plans for improving the ports to be discussed, and on this occasion he spoke a great deal on his ulterior views respecting England, which had the effect of deceiving the ablest around him.

CHAPTER XIV.

FOR a long time the agents of government had been instructed throughout France to solicit for the first consul, in the name of the people, that which the people did not want, but which Bonaparte wished to take whilst he appeared to yield to the general will, namely, the sovereign power, without restrictions and free from the subterfuge of denomination. The opportunity of the conspiracy which had been discovered, and of which some account has been given in the preceding chapter, was a circumstance not to be omitted ; and it was eagerly laid hold of by all the authorities, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, who sent in an immense number of addresses, congratulations, and thanksgivings on the occasion. The greater part of these addressers did not confine themselves to mere congratulation, but they even entreated Bonaparte to consolidate his work ; the true meaning of which was that he should assume imperial and hereditary power.

In this scene of the grand drama Bonaparte played his part with his accustomed talent, and carefully kept himself in the background, and left to others the preparation of his measures.

The Senate, who took the lead in this affair, did not fail, while congratulating the first consul on his escape from "*the daggers of England*," as they were termed, to entreat him not to delay the completion of his work. For some reason, which is not exactly known, Bonaparte allowed this address of the Senate to remain unanswered for nearly a month, and when he did answer it he merely

requested that the intention of the address might be more clearly expressed. These negotiations between the Senate and Bonaparte being secret were not immediately published—he only sought publicity when he wished to communicate results. To obtain the result he desired, it was necessary that the project he was maturing should be proposed in the Tribune, and the tribune Curée had the honour of proposing officially the conversion of the consular republic into an empire, and the elevation of Bonaparte to the title of emperor with the rights of hereditary succession.

Curée developed his proposition to the Tribune in the sitting of the 30th of April, at which I was present. He commenced by describing all the evils which had overwhelmed France during the various governments which had succeeded each other since the constituent assembly, and concluded thus: “I move, therefore, that we transmit to the Senate our wishes, which are those of the whole nation, and which have for their object—1st, That Napoleon Bonaparte, now first consul, be declared emperor, and under that title continue at the head of the French republic; 2nd, That the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family; 3rd, That those of our institutions, which are as yet but traced out, be definitely settled.” Such was the apologetic harangue of Curée; and I saw a number of the members crowding to the Tribune to have their names enrolled so as to speak on this question—and each enlarged upon what had been said by the producer of the proposition, which had so evidently emanated from him to whom it was finally to return. Each speech was, in short, more adulatory than the preceding.

The Tribune having adopted the propositions of Curée, there was no longer any motive for concealing the first overtures of the Senate; *the pear was then ripe*, and the address of the Senate was accordingly published forty days after date.

To give greater solemnity to their proceedings, the

Senate proceeded in a body to the Tuileries, and Cambacères as president pronounced the address. Speaking in the name of the Senate, he said, among other things, "That at sight of the danger from which Providence has saved the hero destined to fulfil her designs, the first observation which naturally arose was, that to meditate the destruction of the first consul was to meditate the destruction of France. Give us, then, institutions so combined that their system may survive you. You will found a new era, but you must eternize it; glory is nothing unless it be permanent. Great man, finish your work, and render it immortal as your glory. You have extricated us from the chaos of the past; you enable us to enjoy the blessings of the present; guarantee to us the future." No one could resist such flattery.

By this reply of the Senate the most important step was performed, and there now remained little but the mere ceremonies to regulate, and the formula to fill up. These various arrangements occasioned a delay of fifteen days; and at length, on the 18th of May, Napoleon was, for the first time, greeted by the appellation of Sire by his former colleague, Cambacères, who, at the head of the Senate, went to present to the new emperor the organic *senatus consultum* relative to the foundation of the empire. Napoleon was at St. Cloud, whither the Senate repaired in state. After the speech of Cambacères, in which they had heard applied for the first time the designation of majesty, the emperor replied:—

"All that can contribute to the welfare of the country is essential to my happiness. I accept the title which you believe to be useful for the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope that France will never repent the honour with which she may surround my family. At all events, my spirit will not be with my posterity, when they cease to merit the love and confidence of the great nation."

Cambacères then went to congratulate the empress,

and thus was realized to Josephine the prediction which I had made to her three years before at Malmaison.

Bonaparte's first act as emperor, on the very day of his elevation to the imperial throne, was the nomination of Joseph to the dignity of grand elector, with the title of imperial highness. Louis was raised to the dignity of constable, with the same title ; and Cambacères and Lebrun were created arch-chancellor and arch-treasurer of the empire.

On the following day the emperor came to Paris to hold a levee at the Tuileries, for he was not a man to delay the gratification that pride and vanity derived from his new title. The assembly was the most brilliant and numerous that had yet been known. Bessières, colonel of the guards, presented an address in their name, to which the emperor replied : " I know the sentiments the guards cherish towards me, and I repose entire confidence in their bravery and fidelity. I constantly behold, with increasing pleasure, companions in arms who have escaped from so many dangers, and who are covered with honourable wounds. I always feel a sentiment of satisfaction when I look at the guards, when I think that there has not been one battle fought for the last fifteen years in which some of them have not taken a part."

On the same day, all the generals and colonels in Paris were presented by Louis in his character of constable. In a few days everything assumed a new aspect. The general admiration was loud, but in secret the Parisians laughed at the awkward appearance of the new courtiers, which greatly displeased Bonaparte.

To give all possible solemnity to his accession, Napoleon ordered that the Senate itself should proclaim in Paris the organic *senatus consultum*, which entirely changed the constitution of the state ; and the day fixed for this ceremony was Sunday, the 30th Floréal.

The day after Bonaparte's accession the old formulas were restored. The emperor decided that he should give

to the French princes and princesses the title of Imperial Highness, and that his sisters should take the same title ; that the grand dignitaries of the empire should be called Serene Highness ; that the princes and titulars of the grand dignitaries should be addressed by the title of Monseigneur ; that the ministers of state should have the title of Excellency, to which should be added that of Monseigneur in the petitions addressed to them ; and that the title of Excellency should be given to the president of the senate.

At the same time Napoleon appointed the first marshals of the empire, and determined that they should be called Monsieur le Marshal, when addressed verbally, and Monseigneur in writing. The following are the names of these sons of the republic, transformed by the wish of a brother-in-arms into supports of the empire :—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières. The title of marshal was also granted to the senators, Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier.

We have seen with what skill Bonaparte avoided the provisions of the consular constitution, by which he was prevented from acting as commander-in-chief beyond the territory of the republic, by giving the title of the army of reserve to the army of Marengo. This constitution was not retained when he was raised to the imperial dignity.

This difficulty having been removed, there can be no doubt that his thirst for war was thereby increased, and that he was desirous to distinguish himself under his new title. From my intimate acquaintance with his character, I believe I am fully warranted in stating that he endeavoured, by means not strictly just, to bring about a continental war. In this respect he had a great advantage in not being restrained by self-love, or any fear of offending any of the other powers—he was desirous of making everything yield to him, and of constantly assuming his own superiority. I have before

stated that Bonaparte never seriously contemplated the invasion of England, but merely made use of it as a pretext to assemble together a large army—to mislead the continental powers—to alarm England by the fears of invasion, and to increase the enthusiasm of his army. These projects Bonaparte confided to no one—not even to his ministers ; and this plan, of which he alone was capable, appears to me the great miracle of modern times.

During the first year of his reign Napoleon retained the fête of the 14th of July, which recalled the recollection to two great popular triumphs—the taking of the Bastille, and the first federation. This year it fell on a Saturday, but the emperor ordered its celebration to be held on the Sunday ; which was in conformity with his sentiments respecting the concordate : “ What renders me,” he said, “ most hostile to the re-establishment of the Catholic worship, are the numerous festivals formerly observed. A saint’s day is a day of idleness, and I do not wish that, as people must labour in order to live. I shall consent to four holidays during the year, but to no more ; if the gentlemen from Rome are not satisfied with that, they may take their departure.” The loss of time appeared to him so great a calamity, that he scarcely ever failed to unite an indispensable solemnity to some day already devoted to sacred purposes.

During the festival the emperor announced that he would go in person to distribute the decorations of the Legion of Honour to the army assembled at Boulogne. He was not long before he fulfilled his promise. He left St. Cloud on the 18th, and travelled with such rapidity, that the next morning, whilst everyone was busy in making preparations for his reception, he was in the midst of them examining the works.

At his departure, it was generally believed at Paris that the distribution of the decorations of the Legion of Honour was only a pretext, and that the grand object to be realized was the descent on England. It was indeed

only a pretext. The emperor wished to excite still more the enthusiasm of the army, and to show himself to the military invested with his new dignity; to be present at some grand manœuvres, and dispose the army to obey the first signal he might give. How indeed could it be supposed, after such extensive preparations—so many transports—and the whole army ready to embark—that it really was never intended to attempt a descent upon England? But so it was—the blow was to be struck in another quarter.

It was not far from Cæsar's tower that eighty thousand men of the camps of Boulogne and Montreuil, under the command of Marshal Soult, were assembled in a vast plain to assist in the solemnity of the distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour impressed with the imperial effigy. This plain, which I saw with Bonaparte in the first journey we made to the coast, before our departure to Egypt, was circular and hollow, and in the centre was a little hill. This hill formed the Imperial throne of Bonaparte in the midst of his soldiers. There he stationed himself with his brilliant staff, and around this centre of glory the regiments were drawn up in line, and looked like so many diverging rays. From this throne, which had been erected by the hand of nature, Bonaparte delivered in a loud voice the same form of oath which he had pronounced at the Hospital of Invalids a few days before. It was a signal for a general burst of enthusiasm, and Rapp, in speaking of this ceremony, told me that he never saw the emperor appear more pleased. How could he be otherwise? Fortune then seemed obedient to his wishes. A storm came on during this brilliant day, and it was apprehended that part of the flotilla would have suffered. Bonaparte quitted the hill from which he had distributed the crosses, and proceeded to the port to direct what measures should be taken, when upon his arrival the storm ceased as if by enchantment. The flotilla entered the port safe and sound, and he went back to the camp,

where the sports and amusements prepared for the soldiers commenced ; and in the evening the brilliant fireworks that were let off rose in a luminous column, which was distinctly seen from the English coast.

When he reviewed the troops, he asked the officers and often the soldiers in what battles they had been engaged, and to those who had received serious wounds he gave the cross. Here, I think, I may appropriately mention a singular piece of charlatanism to which the emperor had recourse, and which powerfully contributed to augment the enthusiasm of his troops. He would say to one of his aides-de-camp, "Ascertain from the colonel of such a regiment whether he has in his corps a man who has served in the campaigns of Italy or of Egypt. Ascertain his name, where he was born, the particulars of his family, and what he has done. Learn his number in the ranks, and to what company he belongs, and furnish me with the information."

On the day of the review, Bonaparte, at a single glance, could perceive the man who had been described to him. He would go up to him as if he recognized him, address him by his name, and say: "Oh ! so you are here ! You are a brave fellow—I saw you at Aboukir—how is your old father ? What ! have you not got the cross ? Stay, I will give it you." Then the delighted soldiers would say to each other, "You see the emperor knows us all ; he knows our families ; he knows where we have served." What a stimulus was this to soldiers, whom he succeeded in persuading that they would all, some time or other, become marshals of the empire !

Lauriston told me, amongst other anecdotes relative to Napoleon's sojourn at the camp of Boulogne, a remarkable instance of intrepidity on the part of two English sailors. These men had been prisoners at Verdun, which was the most considerable depôt of English prisoners in France at the rupture of the peace of Amiens. They effected their escape from Verdun, and

arrived at Boulogne without having been discovered on the road, notwithstanding the vigilance with which all the English were watched. They remained at Boulogne for some time, destitute of money, and without being able to effect their escape. They had no hope of getting aboard a boat, on account of the strict watch that was kept upon vessels of every kind. These two sailors made a boat of little pieces of wood, which they put together as well as they could, having no other tools than their knives. They covered it with a piece of sail-cloth. It was only three or four feet wide, and not much longer; and was so light that a man could easily carry it on his shoulders. So powerful a passion is the love of home and liberty! Sure of being shot if they were discovered; almost equally sure of being drowned if they effected their escape, they, nevertheless, resolved to attempt crossing the Channel in their fragile skiff. Perceiving an English frigate within sight of the coast, they pushed off, and endeavoured to reach her. They had not gone a hundred toises from the shore, when they were perceived by the custom-house officers, who set out in pursuit of them, and brought them back. The news of this adventure spread through the camp, and the extraordinary courage of the two sailors was the subject of general remark. The circumstance reached the emperor's ears. He wished to see the men, and they were conducted to his presence, along with their little boat. Napoleon, whose imagination was struck by everything extraordinary, could not conceal his surprise at so bold a project, undertaken with such feeble means of execution. "Is it really true," said the emperor to them, "that you thought of crossing the sea in this?"—"Sire," said they, "if you doubt it, give us leave to go, and you shall see us depart."—"I will. You are bold and enterprising men—I admire courage wherever I meet with it. But you shall not hazard your lives. You are at liberty; and, more than that, I will cause you to be put on board

an English ship. When you return to London, tell how I esteem brave men, even when they are my enemies." Rapp, who with Lauriston, Duroc, and many others, was present at this scene, was not a little astonished at the emperor's generosity. If the men had not been brought before him, they would have been shot as spies, instead of which they obtained their liberty, and Napoleon gave several pieces of gold to each. This circumstance was one of those which made the strongest impression on Napoleon, and he recollected it when at St. Helena, in one of his conversations with M. de Las Casas.

England was never so much deceived by Bonaparte as during the period of the encampment at Boulogne. The English really believed that an invasion was intended, and the government exhausted itself in efforts for raising men and money to guard against the danger of being taken by surprise. Such, indeed, is the advantage always possessed by the assailant. He can choose the point on which he thinks it most convenient to act, while the party which stands on the defence, and is afraid of being attacked, is compelled to be prepared in every point. However, Napoleon, who was then in the full vigour of his genius and activity, had always his eyes fixed on objects remote from those which surrounded him, and which seemed to absorb his whole attention. Thus, during the journey of which I have spoken, the ostensible object of which was the organization of the departments on the Rhine, he despatched two squadrons from Rochefort and Boulogne, one commanded by Miniessy, the other by Villeneuve.

It was arranged that Josephine and the emperor should meet in Belgium. He proceeded thither from the camp of Boulogne, to the astonishment of those who believed that the moment for the invasion of England had at length arrived. He joined the empress at the castle of Laken, which the emperor had ordered to be repaired and newly furnished with great magnificence.

The emperor continued his journey by the towns

bordering on the Rhine. He stopped first in the town of Aix-la-Chapelle, passed through the three bishoprics, saw, on his way, Cologne and Coblenz, which the emigration had rendered so famous, and arrived at Mentz, where his sojourn was distinguished by the first attempt at negotiation with the Holy See, in order to induce the Pope to come to France to crown the new emperor, and consolidate his power by supporting it with the sanction of the Church. This journey of Napoleon occupied three months, and he did not return to St. Cloud till October.

On his return Caffarelli was sent on a mission to Rome to sound the Papal court, and to induce his holiness to come to Paris to consecrate Napoleon at his coronation. I have already stated what I conceived to be the emperor's ideas on religion—that they seemed merely to be a sort of vague feeling rather than any belief founded on reflection. Notwithstanding, he had a high opinion of the power of the Church—not in being dangerous to his government, but in its influence on the great body of the people. Napoleon never could conceive how it was possible that any sovereign, wearing a crown and a sword, could submit to kneel to a Pope, or to humble his sceptre before any representative of St. Peter. His spirit was too great to admit of such a thought. On the contrary, he regarded the alliance between the Church and his power as a happy means of influencing the opinions of the people, and as an additional tie which was to attach them to a government rendered legitimate by the solemn sanction of the papal authority. Bonaparte was not deceived. In this, as well as in many other things, the perspicuity of his genius enabled him to comprehend all the importance of a consecration imposed on him by the Pope ; more especially as Louis XVIII., without subjects, without territory, and wearing only an illusory crown, had not received that sacred unction by which the descendants of Hugh Capet became the eldest sons of the Church.

As soon as the emperor was informed of the success of Caffarelli's mission, and that the Pope, in compliance with his desire, was about to repair to Paris to confirm in his hands the sceptre of Charlemagne, nothing was thought of but preparations for that great event, which had been preceded by the recognition of Napoleon as Emperor of the French on the part of all the states of Europe, with the exception of England.

After the conference between the Pope and the emperor at Fontainebleau, Pius VII. set off first for Paris. On the road the same honours were paid to him as to the emperor, and he was provided with apartments at the Temple of Flora in the Tuileries. By a delicate attention, the Pope found his bedchamber arranged and furnished exactly as in his own palace of Monte-Cavallo, his usual residence in Rome.

The presence of the Pope in Paris was an event so truly extraordinary, that it was scarcely believed, though it had been talked of for some time. For what, indeed, could be more singular than to see the head of the Church in a capital where only four years before all the altars had been overturned, and the small number of the faithful who remained had been obliged to worship in secret? The Pope became the object of public respect and of general curiosity. I was anxious to see him, and had my wish gratified when he went to visit the imperial printing-office, which was then situated where the Bank of France now is. The director of the establishment caused to be printed in the presence of his holiness a volume which was dedicated to him, which contained the *Pater Noster* in one hundred and fifty languages.

The Pope's arrival at Paris produced a great sensation in London, greater indeed than anywhere else, notwithstanding the separation of the English Church from the Church of Rome. The English ministry now attempted by every means to influence public opinion by the circulation of libels against Napoleon. Their object in doing so was, doubtless, to irritate the English people

and to divert their attention from such measures as were likely to create clamour and to render themselves unpopular. The emperor's indignation against England was then roused to the extreme ; and, indeed, this feeling was in some degree a national feeling in France.

Napoleon had now attained the first object of his ambition, but his ambition expanded before him like the boundless horizon. The preparations now making for the coronation, which was shortly to take place, gave an impulse to trade which had a very favourable effect upon the mind of the trading classes in Paris. Great numbers of foreigners and people from the provinces visited the capital ; and the return to luxury and the revival of old customs gave occupation to a great variety of tradespeople, who could get no employment under the Directory, such as saddlers, carriage-makers, lacemen, embroiderers, and others. These positive interests created more partisans at Paris than either opinion or reflection, and it is but just to say that trade had not been so good for twelve years. The imperial crown jewels were exhibited to the public for some time at Biennais', the jewellers. The crown itself was of a light form, and, with its leaves of gold, appeared less the crown of France than the antique crown of the Cæsars. These valuable ornaments were deposited in the public treasury, together with the imperial insignia, which had been brought from Aix-la-Chapelle by order of Napoleon.

The day after the coronation, all the troops then in Paris were assembled in the Champ-de-Mars, to have distributed to them the eagles which were to replace the republican colours. This spectacle I really enjoyed, for it was very pleasing to see Napoleon in the uniform of a colonel of the guards in the midst of his soldiers. It brought him back to my recollection as the commander-in-chief in Italy, and of the expedition to Egypt.

An immense platform had been erected in front of the military school, which, though now transformed into a

barrack, could not have failed to recall the associations of early youth ; behind which was to be seen the throne of the emperor and empress. At a given signal all the columns closed, and approached the throne. Then Napoleon, rising, gave orders for the distribution of the eagles ; and delivered the following address to the deputations of the different corps of the army : “Soldiers, behold your colours ! These eagles will always be your rallying point. They will always be where your emperor will judge necessary for the defence of his throne and his people. Swear to sacrifice your lives for their defence ; and, by your courage, to keep them constantly in the path of victory—You swear.” It would be impossible to describe the acclamations which followed this address ; there is something so seductive in popular enthusiasm, that even indifferent persons cannot avoid being carried along by it.

CHAPTER XV.

TWO events of considerable importance in the politics of Europe occurred about the time of Napoleon's coronation—first, the conclusion of a treaty at Stockholm, on the 3rd of December, 1804, the day after the coronation, between England and Sweden, by which the former agreed to pay to the latter a considerable subsidy; and secondly, the declaration of war between Spain and England.

The emperor, under these circumstances, was desirous to turn to account the influence of religious ideas, and the importance which the presence of the head of the Catholic Church might give to his coronation. He had affected to appear only as half a sovereign until he was consecrated; but then he considered that he had obtained the sanction of what has been called the right divine. He therefore, about a month after that event, addressed a letter to the King of England, similar in character to that which he addressed to him immediately after the 18th Brumaire, expressing his desire to be acknowledged by him as Emperor of the French. This letter, commencing with the words, "Sir, my brother, called to the throne of France by Providence, by the suffrages of the Senate, the people, and the army, my first desire is peace," etc., was a masterpiece of deceit; for most certainly the emperor would have been very unwilling to have seen peace re-established between France and England, more especially since the declaration of war by Spain had placed at his disposal the

Spanish fleet, consisting of upwards of sixty ships of the line, under the command of Admiral Gravina.

England, irritated at the impotence of her efforts against France, sought to avenge herself in a way that could not be justified; for I consider it to be the duty of all governments to respect the rights of neutral states. Whatever might have been the submission of the cabinet of Madrid to that of the Tuileries, France alone was at war with England, nor had any of her allies, with the exception of Holland, made any demonstration of hostilities. Nothing, therefore, could justify the conduct of the British government in their interference with Spain.

Without any previous declaration of war, Admiral Moore insisted on searching four Spanish frigates, returning from Mexico to Cadiz with treasure. The Spanish commander refused to submit to the demand, when an engagement ensued, in which the Spaniards, being opposed to a superior force, were obliged to submit; three of the frigates struck, and the fourth blew up. These outrages were not the only injuries which they experienced from the English cruisers; they burned even the Spanish merchant ships in the very harbours of the peninsula, and intercepted and captured various convoys, although M. d'Anguade was still in London, as ambassador from Charles IV. These aggressions, which were contrary to the law of nations, irritated to such a degree the Spanish king, or rather, to speak truly, his minister, the too famous Prince of Peace, that war was declared against England.

The conduct of England on this occasion seems to have been not only ill judged, but impolitic; and if the English government had been better informed as to the secret designs of Napoleon, they would not, in all probability, have committed such an error as to oblige Spain to join the fortunes of Napoleon. It was under these circumstances, that the letter which we have just alluded to was addressed to the King of England.

Its object was to induce the belief that he was desirous of peace, but he could not possibly be deceived as to the effect which that communication would produce in London ; and he could not be surprised, when instead of a letter from George III., whom he had styled his brother, he received a letter from the English minister, addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. It commenced thus :—" His Majesty has received the letter addressed to him by the head of the French government " ; and went on to state, " that nothing was nearer his majesty's heart than the restoration of peace to his people ; but that he declined to reply, particularly without consulting the continental powers, and especially the Emperor of Russia."

This letter of the English minister made little impression upon the emperor ; for it was delivered to him while he was at the very height of his glory, and loaded with the congratulations which poured in from all quarters. The Senate and city of Paris gave magnificent fêtes, at which the emperor and empress were present ; and, in short, his consecration was celebrated everywhere. Before the close of the year he convoked the legislative body, whose sittings he himself opened on the 27th of December, with all the pomp of the new ceremonial of the empire.

The year 1804 was fertile in great events, and it would be difficult to find in history so many circumstances exercising so great an influence on the destinies of Europe, crowded together within the short space of twelve months. The first half of the year offered the melancholy spectacle of the police machinations, of the cruel death of a young prince, and of a criminal trial which was followed by executions and pardons. The second half of the year was marked by the elevation of Bonaparte to the imperial throne ; his journey through the new departments annexed to the French territory ; and finally, by an event the most extraordinary, perhaps, of modern times—the Pope's journey to France, to

dispose, in name of the Church, of a throne unoccupied, but not vacant. This eventful year was terminated by the opening of the Legislative Assembly by the emperor in person, whose speech on this occasion made a most powerful impression throughout Europe. Among other things he said—

“ It would have afforded me pleasure, on this solemn occasion, to have seen peace reign throughout the world ; but the political principles of our enemies—their recent conduct towards Spain, sufficiently show the difficulty of fulfilling that wish. I have no desire to aggrandize the territory of France, but to maintain her integrity. I have no ambition to exercise a greater influence over the rest of Europe, but I will not lose any of that which I have acquired. No state will be incorporated with the empire, but I will not sacrifice my rights nor the ties which connect us with the states which I have created.”

Scarcely had the Pope returned to Italy, when it was reported that the emperor intended to make a journey to Milan for the purpose of transforming the Cisalpine republic into the kingdom of Italy. This was merely a corollary from the transmutation of the consular republic into the French empire. By this, Napoleon completed the assimilation between himself and Charlemagne.

Previous to referring further to the object of this journey, I shall here briefly refer to my own appointment as minister plenipotentiary to the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg Schwerin, and to the Hanse Towns.

This appointment took place on the 22nd of March, 1805. Josephine, who had kindly promised to inform me of what the emperor intended to do for me, so soon as she should know those intentions, sent a messenger to acquaint me with my appointment, and to tell me that the emperor wished to see me.

He inquired in the most friendly manner after my

family, and what I had been about. In short, I never had seen him display less reserve, or more familiarity or unaffected simplicity, which he did the more readily, because his greatness was now unquestionable. "You know," added Napoleon, "that in eight days I set out for Italy; I make myself king there, but that is only a stepping-stone—I have greater designs regarding Italy. It must be a kingdom comprising all the transalpine states, from Venice to the maritime Alps. The junction of Italy with France can only be temporary; but it is necessary to accustom the population of Italy to live under common laws. The Genoese, the Piedmontese, the Venetians, the Milanese, the Tuscans, the Romans, and the Neapolitans detest each other. None of them will acknowledge the superiority of the others, and yet Rome is, from the recollections connected with it, the natural capital of Italy. But to make it so, it is necessary to confine the power of the Pope to affairs purely spiritual. I cannot accomplish all this at present, but we shall reflect upon it hereafter. On this subject I have but vague ideas, but they will be matured in time—everything depends upon circumstances. What was it that told me, when we were strutting about like two idle fellows, that I should be one day master of France? My wish—but then a vague wish. Circumstances have done the rest. It is therefore wise to be prepared for what may come, and it is what I am doing. With respect to Italy, as it will be impossible to unite her at once into one power, we shall begin by making her French, so as to accustom her to submit to one uniform law. All the small states will insensibly become assimilated, and then there will be an Italy, and I shall give her independence. But for that I must have twenty years, and who can count on that? Bourrienne, I feel pleasure in telling you all this. It was locked up in my mind; but with you I think aloud."

The emperor remained silent for a moment, and I was preparing to retire, but he detained me, saying in the

kindest manner, "What! are you going already?—are you in a hurry? Let us have a little more chat. God knows when we may see each other again!" Then, after two or three moments' silence, he said, "The more I reflect on our situation, on our former intimacy, and on our subsequent separation, the more I see the necessity of your going to Hamburg. Go, my dear fellow; you will find it your interest to do so. When do you think of setting out?" "In May." "In May—ah, I shall be in Milan then, for I wish to stop at Turin. I like the Piedmontese, for they are the best soldiers in Italy." "Sire, the king of Italy will be the junior of the emperor of the French."* "Ah, you recollect what I said to you one day at the Tuileries—but, my dear fellow, I have got a great deal to do before I gain my point." "At the rate you are advancing you will not be long in accomplishing it." "Longer than you imagine. I see all the obstacles in my way, but they do not alarm me. England is everywhere, and the struggle is between her and me. I see what will happen. The whole of Europe will be our instruments—sometimes for one and sometimes for the other. But upon the whole, the question is entirely between France and England. All things considered, go to Hamburg—you know the country, and, what is better, you speak the language."

Voltaire has somewhere said, that it is very well kissing the toes of popes providing their hands are tied. Bonaparte had little esteem for Voltaire, and, perhaps, did not recollect this remark, but at any rate he very soon found himself called to act upon it. The Pope, or rather the cardinals, thinking that such a great act of condescension as the journey of his holiness to Paris ought not to go for nothing, demanded a compensation,

* This alluded to a conversation which I had with Napoleon when we first went to the Tuileries. He spoke to me about his projects of royalty, and I stated the difficulties which I thought he would experience in getting himself acknowledged by the old reigning families of Europe. "If it comes to that," he replied, "I will dethrone them all, and then I shall be the oldest sovereign among them."

which, had they been better acquainted with Napoleon's policy, they would not have ventured to solicit. They demanded the restoration of Avignon and Bologna, with some territories in Italy which had formerly been subject to the Pope. It may be imagined in what manner their demand was received by Napoleon, particularly after he had obtained what he wanted from the Pope. It was, it must be confessed, a great mistake on the part of the court of Rome not to make their demand until after the coronation. Had the court of Rome made it the condition of the Pope's journey to France, perhaps Bonaparte would have consented to give up Avignon, and perhaps the Italian territory, but certainly with the intention of taking them back. Be this as it may, they were peremptorily rejected, and this created a coolness between Napoleon and Pius VII. The public did not immediately perceive it; but as they generally judge correctly on passing events, all eyes were opened when it was known that the Pope had refused to crown the emperor as king of Italy.

Napoleon left Paris on the 1st of April to take possession of the iron crown at Milan. The Pope remained some time longer in the French capital. The prolonged stay of the Pope had a very favourable influence on the religious feelings of the people, so great was the respect inspired by the benign countenance and mild manners of the Pope. When the period of his persecutions arrived, it had been better for Napoleon that the Pope had not come to Paris; for it was impossible to view, in any other light than as a victim, the man who appeared so meek and truly evangelical.

Bonaparte did not show any impatience to seize the crown of Italy, because he knew it could not escape from him. He stayed a long time at Turin, where he occupied the elegant Stupini palace, which may be called the St. Cloud of the kings of Sardinia; it is situated at the same distance from the capital of Piedmont that St. Cloud is from Paris. The emperor cajoled the Piedmontese, and

gave them General Menou as a governor, who continued until he founded the general government of the trans-alpine departments in favour of his brother-in-law Prince Borghese, of whom it would have been difficult to have made anything but a Roman prince. Napoleon was still at Turin, when the Pope passed through that city on his return to Rome; and there he had a final interview with his holiness, to whom he showed the greatest personal respect. From Turin Napoleon proceeded to Alessandria, where he commenced those immense works upon which such vast sums of money were expended. It was one of his favourite projects, and had been long entertained. I recollect his having observed to Berthier when we were at Milan, after the battle of Marengo, "With Alessandria in my possession, I should always be master of Italy. It might be made the strongest fortress in the world; it is capable of containing a garrison of 40,000 men, with provisions for six months. If a revolt should take place, or should Austria send a formidable force here, the French troops might retire to Alessandria and stand a six months' siege, which would be sufficient to enable me to fall upon Italy, beat the Austrians, and raise the siege of Alessandria."

As he was so near the field of Marengo, the emperor did not fail to visit that celebrated field of battle; and, to give greater solemnity to the occasion, he reviewed on the field all the French troops who were in Italy. Rapp told me that he had brought from Paris, expressly for that purpose, the uniform and hat which he had worn on that memorable day. He afterwards proceeded by way of Casal to Milan.

At Milan the emperor occupied the palace of Monza. The ancient crown of the kings of Lombardy was brought from the dust in which it had been buried; and the new coronation took place in the cathedral of Milan, the largest in Italy after that of St. Peter's at Rome. Napoleon received the crown from the hands of the archbishop of Milan, and placed it upon his own head,

calling aloud, "*Dieu me l'a donnée ; gare à qui la touche.*" This became the motto of the order of the iron crown, which the emperor afterwards founded in commemoration of his coronation as king of Italy.

It was during the emperor's stay at Milan that he received the first intelligence of the dissatisfaction of Austria and Russia ; the cabinet of Berlin were not strangers to it, but Prussia was constrained to conceal her discontent in consequence of the presence of the French troops in Hanover.

On returning from Milan, the emperor ordered the erection of a monument on the Great St. Bernard, in commemoration of the victory of Marengo. M. Denon, who accompanied Napoleon, told me that he made a useless search to discover the body of Desaix, which Bonaparte wished to be buried beneath the monument ; and that it was at length found by General Savary. It is therefore certain that the ashes of the brave Desaix repose on the summit of the Alps.

The emperor arrived in Paris about the end of June, and instantly set off for the camp at Boulogne. It was now once more believed that the project of invading England would be accomplished. This idea obtained the greater credit, because Bonaparte caused some experiments for embarkation to be made in his presence. These experiments, however, led to no result. About this period, a fatal event but too effectually contributed to strengthen the opinion of the inferiority of our navy. A French squadron, consisting of fifteen ships, fell in with the English fleet commanded by Admiral Calder, who had only nine vessels under his command, and in an engagement, which there was every reason to expect would terminate in our favour, we had the misfortune to lose two ships. The invasion of England was as little the object of this as of the previous journey to Boulogne : all Napoleon had in view was to stimulate the enthusiasm of the troops, and to hold out those threats against England which he conceived neces-

sary for diverting attention from the real motive of his hostile preparations, which was to invade Germany, and repulse the Russian troops, who had begun their march towards Austria. Such was the true object of Napoleon's last journey to Boulogne.

I left Paris on the 20th of May, 1805 ; and on the 5th of June following, I delivered my credentials to the Senate of Hamburg, which was represented by the syndic Doormann and the senator Schutte. As I was also accredited to the reigning Dukes of Mecklenburg Schwerin and Brunswick, I announced my arrival to them, and in return was acknowledged by them in my capacity of minister plenipotentiary. I had not been long at Hamburg when I found myself in the midst of the important events which preceded the campaign of Austerlitz ; and I was not allowed to forget what the emperor had said to me at my audience of leave—" You will be useful to me in Germany ; I have views on that country."

On my arrival in Germany the Emperor of Austria had not acknowledged Napoleon as king of Italy, though his ambassador still remained at Paris. Now that Piedmont was united to France, and Italy subject to her laws, Austria could not see Napoleon at the head of so great a nation, and possessed of absolute power, without dreading the consequences of his ambition. She therefore from that moment began to think of war. England, who was anxious to remove the threat of invasion, encouraged the dissatisfaction of the Austrian cabinet. And I have reason to believe that Napoleon was not sorry when the hostility of Austria was manifested ; and he relinquished, without regret, his expensive and useless expedition against England.

In the beginning of August, 1805, I obtained intelligence that a treaty of alliance between Russia and England was under negotiation, but from some circumstances which had occurred it was not completed at that time. I also learned that the Emperor Alexander had solicited General Moreau to enter his service, and

take the command of the Russian infantry. He offered him twelve thousand roubles to defray his travelling expenses, but he did not accept the offer at that time ; and afterwards, when he unfortunately did so, he died in the enemy's ranks.

There was now no longer any doubt of the hostile intentions of the northern powers ; and it became necessary for Napoleon to take the hint in time, lest he should be overwhelmed. He, therefore, gave orders to the different commanders of army corps to concentrate on certain points, and to hold themselves in readiness to advance on the first act of hostility on the part of Austria.

The army of Hanover, which was now commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, and occupied a vast extent of ground, was concentrated, in order to bring it nearer the line of military operations, which it was evident must soon be commenced. Bernadotte was thus obliged to abandon Cuxhaven, which belonged to Hamburg, and in order to take advantage of this necessity he applied to the city for assistance, under pretext that the evacuation was a mark of respect to the municipality. The army was soon after in full march for the south of Germany ; and as he was ordered to advance by the shortest route, he passed through the territory of Anspach, which gave great offence to the king of Prussia ; but at that time he was not prepared to quarrel with France.

The junction of the marshal's corps of 70,000 men was of too much importance to Napoleon not to be expedited by all means and by the shortest route. Gustavus of Sweden, always engaging in some scheme, proposed to form an army composed of his own troops, the Prussians and English ; and certainly, had a vigorous attack been made in the north, it would have prevented Bernadotte from quitting the banks of the Elbe and the Weser, and reinforcing the grand army which was marching on Vienna. But the king of Sweden's coalition produced

no other result than the siege of the little fortress of Hameln. Prussia would not come to a rupture with France, the king of Sweden was abandoned, and Bonaparte's resentment against him increased. This abortive project of Gustavus contributed not a little to alienate the affections of his subjects, who feared that they might be the victims of the revenge excited by the extravagant plans of their king, and the insults he heaped upon Napoleon, particularly since the death of the Duke d'Enghien.

CHAPTER XVI.

SUCH was the state of affairs after I had been three months at Hamburg, when at length intelligence reached me, that the emperor had set out on the 23rd of September for the army. This event was preceded by the abolition of all that remained of the republic, namely, its calendar.

This calendar was one of the most foolish inventions of the revolution, the new names of the months not being applicable to all places even in France, the harvests of Provence not waiting to be ripened by the sun of Messidor. On the 9th of September a *senatus consultum* decreed that after the 1st of January following the months should resume their ancient names. I read with interest the report of La Place to the Senate, and I confess that I was well pleased to see the Gregorian calendar established by law, as it had already been in fact. It was particularly in foreign countries that we felt the inconvenience of a system different from that of all the world.

At Hamburg, I was, as may be supposed, extremely anxious to receive news, of which I had plenty from the interior of Germany, and from some friends at Paris, and it is this correspondence that enables me to furnish my readers with a comprehensive and true statement of affairs, till the moment when Napoleon took the field. I have already stated that it was his constant practice, when he declared war, to endeavour to persuade the world that he was anxious for peace, of which artifice his career furnishes few examples more striking than

that preceding the first conquest of Vienna. It was evident enough that the transformation of the Cisalpine republic into the kingdom of Italy, and the union of Genoa to France, were acts in violation of treaties ; the emperor, however, asserted that all the violations were on the part of Austria. The truth is, that Austria was arming as secretly as possible, and collecting her troops on the frontiers of Bavaria. An Austrian corps had even penetrated into some provinces of the electorate, and this was made use of by Napoleon as a pretext for coming to the assistance of the allies of France.

In the memorable sitting which preceded the departure of the emperor for the army, he caused to be presented a project of a *senatus consultum*, relative to the reorganization of the national guards. The Minister of Foreign Relations read an *exposé* of the reciprocal conduct of France and Austria, subsequent to the peace of Luneville, in which the offences of France were veiled with wonderful address. Finally, before the sitting broke up, the emperor addressed the senators, stating that he was about to leave his capital to place himself at the head of his army, to afford succour to his allies, and to defend the dearest interests of his people.

This address occasioned a powerful sensation in Hamburg ; for my part, I recognized in it the usual boasting of Napoleon, but this time events seemed determined to justify it. The emperor may have made more scientific campaigns than that of Austerlitz, but none accompanied by such wonderful results. Everything appeared to partake of the marvellous, and I have often thought of the secret joy which Bonaparte must have felt in being at length on the point of commencing a great war in Germany, for which he had so often expressed an ardent desire.

All the reports which I received agreed with my private correspondence, in describing the astonishing enthusiasm of the army, on learning that it was to march into Germany. For the first time Bonaparte had

recourse to artificial means of transport, and 20,000 carriages conveyed his army as it were by enchantment from Boulogne to the banks of the Rhine. All the ambitious youths were on fire at the idea of an approaching campaign. All dreamed of glory and a speedy promotion, all hoped to signalize themselves under a chief, the idol of his army, who knew so well how to hurry away men into the sphere of his own incredible activity.

It was during his short stay at Strasburg that the emperor, on hearing of the position of the Austrian army, ventured to predict the success which awaited him under the walls of Vienna, which, as Rapp informed me, he did in the presence of a great many persons. He said, "The plan of Mack's campaign is settled, the Caudine Forks are at Ulm." This was a favourite expression with Napoleon when he saw an enemy's army concentrated upon a point, and foresaw its defeat. Experience proved that he was correct, and I must here affirm that there is no truth in the report that Mack sold himself at Ulm; he was so placed that he could not have done otherwise. What might have given rise to this report was, that Napoleon humanely interfered to prevent his being tried by a court-martial.

On commencing the campaign, Napoleon placed himself at the head of the Bavarians, with whom he fought the enemy previous to the arrival of his own troops. When all had joined, he issued a proclamation to excite still more the zeal and devotion of this admirable army.

In the confidential notes addressed to his diplomatic agents, in his speeches, and in his proclamations, Napoleon always described himself as having been attacked; and it might happen that his earnestness on this point would have sufficed to reveal the truth to those who had learned how much his thoughts differed from his expressions.

Were I to attempt to describe the brilliant campaign of 1805, I must, like the almanac-makers, set down a victory for every day, or one of those rapid movements

which the presence of Napoleon imposed upon his army, and which contributed so powerfully to the prodigious triumphs of a warfare of only three months. In effect, was not the rapidity of the emperor's first operations a thing hitherto unheard of? On the 24th of September he left Paris, hostilities commenced on the 2nd of October, on the 6th and 7th the French had passed the Danube, and turned the enemy's army. On the 8th Murat, at the battle of Wertingen upon the Danube, made 2,000 Austrians prisoners, among whom, with other generals, was the Count Auffenberg. Next day the defeated Austrians retreated upon Gunzburg, flying before our victorious legions, who, following up the course of their triumphs, entered on the 10th into Augsburg, and on the 12th into Munich. When I received my despatches it appeared to me as if I was reading some fabulous history. On the 14th, two days after the entry of the French into Munich, an Austrian corps of 6,000 men surrendered to Marshal Soult at Memingen, whilst Ney conquered, sword in hand, his future duchy of Elchingen. Finally, on the 17th of October, the famous capitulation of Ulm took place; and on the same day hostilities commenced in Italy between the French and Austrians, the former commanded by Massena, and the latter by the Archduke Charles. I am confident that Napoleon greatly regretted that this prince had not the command of the troops to which he was personally opposed, for I have often heard him lament the incapacity of the enemies' generals: ready at all times to profit by their blunders, he appeared to think that their want of talent detracted from his glory, in rendering success less difficult; and never, perhaps, had any man been more anxious to meet with an enemy in every way worthy of himself.

Bonaparte, after remaining a short time at Augsburg for the purpose of forming an opinion as to the probable movements of the Austrian army, then advanced upon it with such wonderful rapidity, that the Archduke

Ferdinand considered himself fortunate in being able to repass the Danube ; but all the other Austrian forces were driven into Ulm, the garrison of which place, hitherto deemed impregnable, now amounted to 30,000 men.

General Segur, who was afterwards in the service of Murat at Naples, was employed to make the first proposals to Mack to induce him to surrender. Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein had also been sent to negotiate at the imperial headquarters, to which he was conducted, according to established usage, on horseback, with his eyes bandaged. Rapp gave me the particulars of this interview, at which he was present with others of the emperor's aides-de-camp ; I think he told me that Berthier was also there. "Picture to yourself," said Rapp, "the confusion, or rather the astonishment of the poor prince, when they had removed the bandage from his eyes—he knew nothing, not even that the emperor had joined the army. When he learned that he was in the presence of Napoleon, he could not suppress an exclamation of surprise, which did not escape the emperor, and he candidly confessed that General Mack was not aware of his presence under the walls of Ulm. The Prince of Lichtenstein proposed to capitulate, on the condition that the garrison of Ulm should have permission to return into Austria. This proposal, in the then situation of the garrison," said Rapp, "made the emperor smile. 'You cannot suppose,' said he, 'that I can entertain such a proposition : what should I gain by it?—eight days ! In eight days you must surrender at discretion. Do you suppose that I am not informed of everything ? You expect the Russians—they are scarcely yet in Bohemia. If I allow you to march out, who is to assure me that you will not go and join them, and afterwards fight against me ? Your generals have so often deceived me that I will not again be their dupe. At Marengo I was weak enough to allow the troops of Melas to march out of Alessandria. He promised to

treat of peace, but what happened?—two months after, Moreau had to combat the garrison of Alessandria. Besides, this is not an ordinary war; after the conduct of your government I am not bound to keep any terms with it. I have no faith in your promises—you have attacked me. If I consent to what you propose, Mack will promise; but, relying upon his good faith, will he be able to keep his promise? for himself, yes—but as regards his army, no. If the Archduke Ferdinand were here with you, I could depend upon his word, because he would be answerable for the conditions, and would not dishonour himself; but I know that he has quitted Ulm, and passed the Danube. I know, however, where to find him.’

“You cannot picture to yourself,” continued Rapp, “the embarrassment of the Prince Lichtenstein while the emperor was speaking; however, he recovered himself a little, and observed, that unless the conditions he was charged to propose were granted, the army would not capitulate. ‘In that case,’ said Napoleon, ‘you may go back to Mack, for I will never grant you such conditions. Are you jesting with me?’ Stay, here is the capitulation of Memingen—show that to your general; let him surrender on the same conditions, I will let him have no other. Your officers may return to Austria, but the soldiers must be prisoners. Tell him he must decide quickly, for I have no time to lose. The longer he delays, the worse will his situation become. To-morrow I shall have here the corps of the army to which Memingen capitulated, and then we shall decide what is to be done. Let Mack clearly understand that he has no alternative but to surrender on my terms.’”

The imperious tone which Napoleon employed towards his enemies generally succeeded; and at this time it had the desired effect upon Mack. On the same day that Prince Lichtenstein had been at our headquarters, Mack wrote to the emperor, stating that he would accept his terms, but that he would not have treated with any

other than himself. On the following day Berthier was sent to Ulm, from whence he returned with the capitulation. The garrison were permitted to march out with the honours of war, and sent prisoners into France. Thus Napoleon was not mistaken when he said that the Caudine Forks of the Austrian army were at Ulm.

Napoleon, who was so violently irritated by any obstacle which opposed him, and who treated with so much severity everyone who ventured to resist his will, became completely changed when he was the conqueror; he received the vanquished with kindness; nor was this the result of a feeling of pride, concealed under the mark of hypocrisy. I am sure he pitied them sincerely, for I have often heard him remark, "How much to be pitied is a general on the day after a lost battle!" He had himself experienced this feeling when he was obliged to raise the siege of Acre, after having made extraordinary efforts to accomplish his object. I believe at that moment he would have strangled Djezzar; but if Djezzar had surrendered, he would have treated him with the same attention which he showed to Mack and the other generals of the garrison of Ulm. These generals were seventeen in number, and among them was Prince Lichtenstein, who the day before was so much surprised at finding himself in the presence of the emperor. There were also General Klenau, Baron de Giulay, who had acquired considerable military reputation in former wars, and General Fresnel, who stood in a more critical situation, for he was a Frenchman and an emigrant.

Rapp told me that it was quite painful to see those generals. They bowed respectfully to the emperor as they passed along with Mack at their head. They preserved a mournful silence, and Napoleon was the first to speak. He said, "Gentlemen, I am sorry that such brave men as you have shown yourselves, should become the victims of the follies of a cabinet which cherishes insane projects, and which does not hesitate to

compromise the dignity of the Austrian nation, and to trifle with the services of its generals. Your names are known to me—they are honourably known wherever you have fought. Examine the conduct of those who have compromised you. What could be more unjust than to attack me without a declaration of war? Is it not unjust to bring foreign invasion upon a country? Is it not betraying Europe to introduce Asiatic barbarians into her disputes? If good faith had been kept, the Aulic Council, instead of attacking me, ought to have sought my alliance to force the Russians back into the north. The present alliance is that of dogs, shepherds, and wolves against sheep—such a scheme could not have been devised by any statesman. It is fortunate for you that I have been successful; had I been defeated, the cabinet of Vienna would have soon perceived its error, and would then have regretted it.”

CHAPTER XVII.

WHILE Napoleon flattered his prisoners at the expense of their government, he was desirous to express his satisfaction at the conduct of his own army; and for this purpose he published the following remarkable proclamation, which contained an abstract of all that had taken place since the opening of the campaign.

SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY,

In fifteen days we have finished our campaign. What we proposed to do has been done. We have chased the Austrian troops from Bavaria, and restored our ally to the sovereignty of his dominions.

That army, which with so much presumption and imprudence marched upon our frontiers, is annihilated.

But what does this signify to England? She has gained her object. We are no longer at Boulogne, and her subsidies will not be the less great.

Of a hundred thousand men who composed that army, sixty thousand are prisoners; they will supply our conscripts in the labour of husbandry.

Two hundred pieces of cannon, ninety flags, and all their generals, are in our power. Not more than fifteen thousand have escaped.

Soldiers! I announce to you a great battle; but thanks to the ill-devised combinations of the enemy, I was able to secure the desired result without any danger; and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, these results have been gained at the loss of scarcely fifteen hundred men, killed and wounded.

Soldiers! this success is due to your entire confidence in your emperor, to your patience in supporting fatigue and privations of every kind, and to your remarkable intrepidity.

But we will not stop here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign.

The Russian army, which the gold of England has brought from the extremity of the world, we have to serve in the same manner.

In the conflict in which we are now to be engaged, the honour of the French infantry is especially concerned. We shall then see decided, for the second time, that question which has already been decided in

Switzerland and Holland; namely, whether the French infantry is the first or second in Europe?

There are no generals among them, in contending against whom I can acquire any glory. All I wish is to obtain the victory with the least possible bloodshed. My soldiers are my children.

This proclamation always appeared to me a masterpiece of military eloquence. Napoleon, while he praised his troops, excited their emulation, by hinting that the Russians were capable of disputing with them the first rank among the soldiers of Europe. The second campaign, to which he alludes, speedily commenced, and was hailed with enthusiasm. The most extraordinary reports were circulated respecting the Russians; they were represented as half-naked savages, pillaging, destroying, and burning wherever they went. It was even asserted that they were cannibals, and had been seen to eat children. It was at this time that they were denominated the northern barbarians, which has since been so generally applied to the Russians.

Two days after the capitulation of Ulm, Murat, on his part, obliged General Warneck to capitulate at Trochtelfingen, and made 10,000 prisoners: so that, without counting killed and wounded, the Austrian army found itself diminished by 50,000 men after a campaign of twenty days.

On the 27th, the French army crossed the Inn, and thus penetrated into the Austrian territory, and immediately occupied Salzburg and Braunau. The army of Italy, under Massena, also obtained important advantages, having, on the same day that these fortresses surrendered, that is to say, on the 30th of October, gained the sanguinary battle at Caldiero, and taken 5,000 prisoners from the Austrians.

The Austrian emperor now sought to retard Napoleon's progress by negotiation; and sent M. de Giulay, one of the generals included in the capitulation of Ulm, who had returned home to acquaint his sovereign with that disastrous event, to propose an armistice preliminary to a peace, of which the Austrian

government professed itself sincerely desirous. He had not concealed from the Emperor Francis, or his cabinet, the destruction of the Austrian army, or the impossibility of arresting the rapid advance of the French. This snare was too glaring not to be immediately discovered by Napoleon. He always pretended a love for peace, but he was very desirous to continue a war so successfully commenced ; he therefore directed General Giulay to assure the Emperor of Austria that he was no less anxious for peace than himself, and that he would be ready to treat with him without suspending his operations. Napoleon could not have acted otherwise without a degree of imprudence, of which he was incapable, since Giulay, whatever powers he had from Austria, had clearly none from Russia. Russia might therefore disavow the armistice, and arrive in time to defend Vienna, the occupation of which was so important to the French army. The Russians were now rapidly advancing to oppose us, and the division of our army commanded by Mortier, on the left bank of the Danube, received a check in the first encounter, which very much vexed the emperor, as it was the first reverse which had been sustained. It was very slight, but still the Russians had captured three of the French eagles, the first that had fallen into the hands of the enemy, which was very mortifying to Napoleon, and caused him to prolong his stay for a few days at Saint-Polten.

In the extraordinary campaign which has been named the campaign of Austerlitz, the exploits of our troops succeeded each other with the rapidity of thought. Each courier that I received brought news much more favourable than I could have expected ; still I was not prepared to receive a letter by an extraordinary courier from Duroc, commencing laconically with the words, " We are in Vienna ; the emperor is well." Duroc had left the emperor before the camp at Boulogne was raised, on a mission to Berlin, and this being terminated, he had now rejoined the army at Lintz.

The rapid capture of Vienna was due to the successful temerity of Lannes and Murat, two men who yielded to each other in nothing where bravery and daring were concerned. A bold artifice of these marshals prevented the destruction of the bridge of the Thabor at Vienna ; without this our army could not have gained possession of the capital without considerable difficulty. This act of courage and presence of mind, which had so great an influence on the events of the campaign, was afterwards related to me by Lannes, who spoke of it with an air of gaiety, and was more delighted with having outwitted the Austrians than proud of the brilliant action which he had performed. Bold enterprises were so natural to him, that he was frequently the only person who saw nothing extraordinary in his own exploits. Alas ! what men have been the victims of Napoleon's ambition !

The following is the story of the bridge of the Thabor, as I received it from Lannes :—

“ I was one day walking with Murat, on the right bank of the Danube, and we observed on the left bank, which was occupied by the Austrians, some works going on, the evident object of which was to blow up the bridge on the approach of our troops. The fools had the impudence to make these preparations under our very noses ; but we gave them a good lesson. Having arranged our plan, we returned to give orders, and I intrusted the command of my column of grenadiers to an officer on whose courage and intelligence I could rely. I then returned to the bridge, accompanied by Murat, and two or three other officers. We advanced unconcernedly, and entered into conversation with the commander of a post in the middle of the bridge. We spoke to him about an armistice which was to be speedily concluded. While conversing with the Austrian officers, we contrived to make them turn their eyes towards the left bank, and then, agreeably to the orders we had given, my column of grenadiers advanced on the bridge.

The Austrian cannoneers, on the left bank, seeing their officers in the midst of us, did not dare to fire, and my column advanced at a quick step. Murat and I at the head of it, gained the left bank. All the combustibles, prepared for blowing up the bridge, were thrown into the river; and my men took possession of the batteries erected for the defence of the bridge head. The poor devils of Austrian officers were perfectly astounded when I told them they were my prisoners."

Such, as well as I can recollect, was the account given by Lannes, who laughed immoderately in describing the consternation of the Austrian officers on discovering the blunder they had committed. When Lannes performed this exploit he had no idea of the important consequences which would result from it; but these were soon perceived. Not only was a sure and easy entrance into Vienna secured for the remainder of the French army, but, without being aware of it, an insurmountable impediment was created to prevent the junction of the Russian army with that division of the Austrian army under the command of the Archduke Charles, who, being pressed by Massena, had retreated into the heart of the hereditary states, where he expected a great battle would soon be fought.

As soon as the divisions of Murat and Lannes had taken possession of Vienna, the emperor ordered all the other divisions of the army to march upon the capital. Napoleon established his headquarters at Schoenbrun, where he planned his operations for compelling the Archduke Charles to retire into Hungary, and for leading his own army against the Russians. Murat and Lannes always commanded the advanced guard during these forced and next to miraculous marches.

On the 2nd of November, 1805, the King of Sweden arrived at Stralsund. I immediately intimated to our government that the circumstance would probably give a new turn to the operations of the combined army;

for hitherto its movements had been very uncertain, and the frequent counter-orders afforded no possibility of ascertaining any determined plan.

The first column of the grand Russian army passed through Warsaw on the 1st of November, and on the 2nd the Grand Duke Constantine was expected with the guards. This division, which amounted to 6,000 men, was the first that passed through Prussian Poland.

At this time we hourly expected to see landed on the banks of the Weser or the Elbe the Hanoverian army, increased by some thousands of English. Their design obviously was either to attack Holland or to act on the rear of our grand army.

For some time previous to the battle of Austerlitz, French columns were traversing Germany and Italy in all directions, all tending towards Vienna as a central point ; and about the beginning of November the corps commanded by Bernadotte arrived at Salzburg, at the moment when the emperor had advanced his headquarters to Braunau. This junction had been anxiously desired, and was considered of so much importance by Bonaparte, that he desired Bernadotte to hasten forward by the nearest route, which order obliged Bernadotte to pass through the territory of the two Margravates.

At this time we were at peace with Naples. In September the emperor had concluded with Ferdinand IV. a treaty of neutrality. This treaty enabled Cara Saint-Cyr, who occupied Naples, to evacuate that city, and to join Massena in Upper Italy ; and both joined the grand army on the 28th of November. But no sooner had the troops commanded by Saint-Cyr quitted the Neapolitan territories, than the king, influenced by his ministers, and above all by Queen Caroline, broke the treaty of neutrality, ordered hostile preparations against France, opened his ports to the enemies of the emperor, and received into his states 12,000 Russians and 8,000 English.

It was on learning these occurrences that Napoleon, in one of his most violent bulletins, stigmatized the Queen of Naples as the modern Frédégonde; and the victory of Austerlitz succeeding decided the fate of Naples, and shortly after Joseph was seated on the Neapolitan throne.

At length the great day arrived, when, according to the expression of Napoleon, "*the sun of Austerlitz arose*"; all our forces were concentrated upon the same point at about forty leagues beyond Vienna. There remained only the wreck of the Austrian army; the division under Prince Charles having been kept at a distance by the skilful manœuvres of Napoleon. The most extraordinary illusion prevailed in the enemy's camp. On the very eve of the battle the Emperor Alexander sent one of his aides-de-camp, Prince Dolgorowski, as a flag of truce to Napoleon. This prince conducted himself in such a self-sufficient manner in the presence of the emperor, that, on dismissing him, he said to him, "If you were on the heights of Montmartre, I would answer such inpertinence only with cannon-balls." This observation was very remarkable, inasmuch as events occurred which rendered it a prophecy.

As to the battle itself, I am able to describe it almost as correctly as if I had been present; for some time after I had the pleasure of seeing in Hamburg my friend Rapp, who had been sent on a mission to Prussia. He gave me the following account:—

"When we arrived at Austerlitz, the Russians, ignorant of the emperor's skilful dispositions to draw them to the ground which he had marked out, and seeing our advanced guards give way before their columns, conceived the victory won. According to their notions, the advanced guard would suffice to secure an easy triumph. But, the battle begun, they found what it was to fight, and on every point were repulsed. At one o'clock the victory was still uncertain; for they fought admirably. They resolved on a last effort, and

directed close masses against our centre. The imperial guard deployed: artillery, cavalry, infantry, were marched against a bridge which the Russians attacked, and this movement, concealed from Napoleon by the inequality of the ground, was not observed by us. At this moment I was standing near him, waiting orders. We heard a well-maintained fire of musketry; the Russians were repulsing one of our brigades. Hearing this sound, the emperor ordered me to take the Mamelukes, two squadrons of chasseurs, one of grenadiers of the guard, and to observe the state of things. I set off at full gallop, and, before advancing a cannon shot, perceived the disaster. The Russian cavalry had penetrated our squares, and were sabring our men. In the distance could be perceived masses of Russian cavalry and infantry in reserve. At this juncture, the enemy advanced; four pieces of artillery arrived at a gallop, and were planted in position against us. On my left I had the brave Morland, on my right General d'Allemagne. 'Courage, my brave fellows!' cried I to my party; 'behold your brothers, your friends butchered; let us avenge them, avenge our standards! Forward!' These few words inspired my soldiers; we dashed at full speed upon the artillery, and took them. The enemy's horse, which awaited our attack, were overthrown by the same charge, and fled in confusion, galloping, like us, over the wrecks of our own squares. In the meantime the Russians rallied; but a squadron of horse grenadiers coming to our assistance, I could then halt, and await the reserves of the Russian guards. Again we charged, and this charge was terrible. The brave Morland fell by my side. It was absolute butchery. We fought man to man, and so mingled together, that the infantry on neither side dared to fire, lest they should kill their own men. The intrepidity of our troops finally bore us in triumph over all opposition: the enemy fled in disorder in sight of the two emperors of Austria and Russia, who had taken their station on a

rising ground, in order to be spectators of the contest. They ought to have been satisfied, for I can assure you they witnessed no child's play. For my own part, my good friend, I never passed so delightful a day. The emperor received me most graciously when I arrived to tell him that the victory was ours ; I still grasped my broken sabre, and as this scratch upon my head bled very copiously, I was all covered with blood. He named me general of division. The Russians returned not again to the charge,—they had had enough ; we captured everything,—their cannon, their baggage, their all, in short ; and Prince Ressina was among the prisoners."

CHAPTER XVIII.

ON the day after the battle, the emperor, who was at the castle of Austerlitz, received a visit from Prince de Lichtenstein, the same whom Mack had sent to negotiate when before the walls of Ulm. On this occasion the prince was sent by the Emperor Francis II. to request an interview with Napoleon. This request was immediately agreed to, and the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion were arranged at once. On the 4th of December Napoleon proceeded on horseback to the place appointed, which was a mill about three leagues from Austerlitz. The Emperor of Austria arrived in a calash; and as soon as he was observed, Napoleon alighted from his horse and advanced to meet him, attended by his aides-de-camp. Napoleon embraced Francis II. on meeting him. During the interview Napoleon only had Berthier beside him, and the Emperor of Austria was attended by Prince de Lichtenstein. What a situation for the heir of Charles V. ! The emperors remained about two hours, and again embraced at parting.

On his return from this interview, Napoleon, who never for a moment lost sight of his policy, roused himself from the meditation in which he seemed to be absorbed, to despatch an aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Austria. Savary was entrusted with this mission, the object of which was to acquaint the Emperor Francis, that on leaving him he was going by order of Napoleon to the headquarters of the Emperor of Russia, to obtain his adhesion, as far as he was concerned, to the conditions

agreed upon in the conference between the Emperors of France and Austria. Alexander consented to everything, and observed, since the King of the Romans was satisfied, he had no conditions to ask, as he had taken the field only to assist his ally.

The chanceries of France and Austria met at Presburg, and as one of the two parties had the power of demanding everything, and the other could scarcely refuse anything, the negotiations did not continue long. On the 25th of December, that is to say, only three months after Napoleon's departure from Paris, all was arranged. Russia, who had taken part in the war, took no part in the negotiations. Hostilities ceased between her and France, but without any treaty of peace being concluded. After the battle of Austerlitz Napoleon remained for a few days at Brunn, to superintend the execution of his orders relative to the cantonment of his troops. Here he ascertained his losses, and sent his aides-de-camp to visit the hospitals, and to present, in his name, each wounded soldier with a Napoleon (16s. 8d.). To the wounded officers he caused gratuities to be distributed from five hundred to three thousand francs (£21 to £125), according to their rank.

The emperor then set out for Schoenbrun, where he arrived without stopping at Vienna, through which he passed during the night. On the day after his arrival he received, for the first time, M. Haugwitz, who had been for some time in Vienna, negotiating with M. de Talleyrand, and who, it must be confessed, found himself in the most critical situation in which a diplomatist could be placed. He was very ill received, as may be supposed. He was at Vienna to wait the issue of events, and those events had not taken a turn favourable to Prussia. Napoleon, whom victory had placed in the most triumphant situation, treated the envoy with great haughtiness and severity. "Do you think," said Napoleon, "that your master has kept faith with me? It would have been more honourable in him to have

declared war against me openly, even though he had no motive for doing so. He then would have served his new allies, for I should have had to look two ways before I gave battle. You wish to be the friends of all parties, but that is impossible—you must choose between them and me. If you wish to go with them, I do not object; but if you remain with me, I must have sincerity. I would rather have avowed enemies than false friends. What does this mean? You call yourselves my allies, and you permit a body of thirty thousand Russians to communicate through your states with the grand army; nothing can justify such conduct; it is an open act of hostility. If your powers do not permit you to treat of all these questions, get them extended. As for myself, I shall march against my enemies wherever they are to be found.” I was informed by Lauriston that the emperor was so excited during this conversation, that he could be heard distinctly by those who were in the adjoining room.

The situation of M. Haugwitz must have been peculiarly delicate, especially as Napoleon’s complaints against Prussia were not without foundation. The truth is, that Haugwitz had come from Berlin solely in quality of observer, and having only conditional instructions. Had the emperor been beaten by the coalition, the cabinet of Berlin had instructed its representative to declare openly the alliance of Prussia with Russia and Austria; but the result of the battle being so disastrous, he was obliged to conceal the object of his mission. Haugwitz, seeing no other means of averting the storm which was ready to burst upon Prussia, took upon himself, without the authority of his sovereign, to sign a treaty, by virtue of which the Margravates of Bareuth and Anspach were exchanged for Hanover.

While all this was going on at Vienna, I received the Berlin bulletins, which informed me that Von Hardenberg had just signed, *by order of his master*, another treaty with England, which rendered the situation of

Prussia with respect to her two allies extremely difficult and complicated. It was impossible for her to continue in her present situation, for with Napoleon there was no possibility of her screening herself under the plea of neutrality. Thus Prussia could not avoid war, and all that remained to her was, the choice of maintaining it against France or England. By her treaty with England she received a subsidy of £1,500,000 ; and while nothing was known at the French headquarters respecting this second negotiation, or any doubt entertained respecting the validity of the treaty concluded by Haugwitz, the Russian general Buxhoevden, at the head of thirty thousand men, crossed the Vistula at Warsaw, and advanced upon Bohemia by Breslau. This was one of the results of the Emperor Alexander's visit to Berlin, he having succeeded in inducing the King of Prussia to make common cause along with Russia, Austria, and England, never expecting that France could triumph over them all ; but the fortune of Napoleon ordained otherwise.

Napoleon received at Vienna intelligence of the disastrous battle of Trafalgar. In France, that event was only known by report, and through the medium of the foreign newspapers, which were then prohibited. So completely did Napoleon succeed in veiling that disaster in obscurity, that previous to the restoration it was scarcely known in France. It was, however, very well known at Hamburg, it having been communicated by the merchants. The issue of the battle was to us equivalent to the destruction of our fleet, for we lost eighteen ships ; and the other thirteen returned to Cadiz dreadfully damaged. The battle of Trafalgar was fatal to the three admirals engaged in it. Nelson was killed, Gravina died of his wounds, and Villeneuve was made prisoner, and on his return to France put a period to his life.

Napoleon was profoundly afflicted at this event, but at the time he did not express his mortification, for he

never allowed himself to be engrossed with two subjects of equal interest at the same time.

On the 5th of January, 1805, the King of Sweden arrived before the gates of Hamburg. The Senate, surrounded on all sides by English, Swedish, and Russian troops, determined to send a deputation to the Swedish monarch, who, however, hesitated so long about receiving this homage, that fears were entertained lest his refusal should be accompanied by some act of aggression. He, however, at last permitted two deputies to come to him, and they returned well satisfied with their reception.

His complaint against the Senate of Hamburg arose from my having demanded and obtained the removal of the colours which used to be suspended over the door of the house for receiving Austrian recruits. The poor Senate was kept in constant alarm by so dangerous a neighbour. It was not the King of Sweden alone who gave uneasiness to Hamburg, for the King of Prussia had threatened to seize it, and to subject it to his fiscal regulations, which would have had the effect of destroying the commercial prosperity of the city.

Hanover, no longer occupied by the French troops, was used by the English as a sort of recruiting station, where every man who presented himself was enlisted, in order to complete the Hanoverian regiment which was then about being raised. They scattered gold in handfuls. The English employed in this service a hundred and fifty carriages, with six horses to each, which confirmed me in my former opinion that they in conjunction with the Russians were about to undertake an expedition against Holland. On the first indication of this intention, I sent off information to the emperor by express. The aim of the Anglo-Russians, who were not aware that peace had been concluded at Presburg, was to create a diversion in the movements of the French armies in Germany. The advanced guard of the Russians soon arrived at Affersburg, four leagues from Bremen, and the whole of the allied forces marched through the

bishopric of Osnaburg ; not a moment therefore was to be lost in reuniting all the troops at our disposal for the preservation of Holland. The death of Pitt and the nomination of Mr. Fox to the ministry, opened a fair prospect of peace. It was well known that this latter statesman, in succeeding to the office of Mr. Pitt, did not inherit his violent hatred against France and its emperor ; a mutual esteem existed between them, and Mr. Fox had shown himself really sincere in his professions for peace. Its practicability he had always insisted upon whilst in opposition to Mr. Pitt ; and Bonaparte himself, from the high regard he had for Mr. Fox, might have been induced to yield in some points the very idea of which he would otherwise have rejected with indignation. But two obstacles (I might almost say insurmountable ones) were opposed to it. The first was, the conviction on the part of England that this peace would never be anything more than a truce of longer or shorter duration, and that Bonaparte would still continue to pursue his scheme of universal dominion. And the other, the belief which was firmly entertained, that Napoleon meditated the invasion of England. Could this have been effected, it would have been less with a view of giving a mortal blow to her commerce and destroying her maritime supremacy over France, than of abolishing the liberty of the press, which he had totally annihilated on his own side of the Channel. The sight of a free people separated from them only by one-and-twenty miles of sea, was, in his opinion, a tempting aspect to the French, and a most powerful incentive to such of them as bore the yoke with reluctance.

Almost at the commencement of Mr. Fox's ministry, a Frenchman proposed to him the assassination of the emperor : the minister wrote immediately to M. de Talleyrand to inform him of the circumstance. He intimated to him, that although the English laws forbade the detention of an individual not actually convicted of any crime, yet, on this occasion, he would

take it upon himself not to suffer such a wretch to go at large, until such time as the head of the French government could be put on his guard against his attempts. Mr. Fox added that he had at first done this individual "the honour to take him for a spy," an expression which sufficiently marked the indignation and disgust with which the English minister regarded him.

This information, so honourably imparted, was the key which opened the door to fresh negotiations. M. de Talleyrand was directed to express to Mr. Fox that the emperor was deeply affected with this proof of the principles by which the British cabinet was governed. Nor did Napoleon confine himself to this diplomatic courtesy; he considered it a favourable opportunity to create an impression that on his part the desire for peace was sincere. He summoned to Paris Lord Yarmouth, the most distinguished amongst those English subjects who had been so unjustly detained prisoners at Verdun, on the infraction of the treaty of Amiens. He commissioned his lordship to propose to the British government to enter into negotiations, offering on his part to recognize the possession by England of the Cape of Good Hope and Malta. By some, this concession of Bonaparte has been extolled as a mark of his moderation—by others, he has been blamed as willing to make too great a sacrifice; as if the cession of the Cape of Good Hope and Malta were to be put in competition with the recognition of his title of emperor, the establishment of the kingdom of Italy, the acquisition of Genoa and of all the Venetian states, the dethronement of the King of Naples and the gift of his kingdom to Joseph, and, finally, the new partition of Germany. All these events, which had taken place subsequently to the treaty of Amiens, were not even alluded to by Bonaparte, and certainly were advantages which he had no intention to forgo. The letters which I received from Paris frequently dwelt on the prospect of peace, a sentiment in which I could not participate, being too well acquainted with

the emperor to repose any faith in his sincerity, especially after the successful campaign of Vienna, which opened a wider prospect to his ambition, a passion which appeared to increase in proportion as it was gratified. Every day, indeed, afforded me fresh proofs that this ambition was insatiable. The fact was, Napoleon coveted the possession of the Hanse Towns. My instructions, however, were at first merely to make overtures to the senates of each of these three towns, and to endeavour to make them sensible of the advantage it would be to them to enjoy the protection of Napoleon in exchange for the trifling sacrifice of six millions to be advanced to him. On this subject I had several conferences with the magistrates, who at first objected to the sum as being too exorbitant, representing to me at the same time that the city was by no means so rich as formerly, as the war had created so many obstacles to their commerce; and the Senate at length, for which I could not greatly blame them, signified to me, in the most delicate manner possible, that their circumstances would not permit them to accept the "generous proposal" of the emperor. For my own part, I could not but consider the proposition I had to make as in the highest degree absurd; since, in fact, there was no real advantage whatever I could offer to the Hanse Towns as an equivalent for their money. Against whom too could he offer to protect them? Prussia, Sweden, Russia, and England might be and probably were desirous of obtaining possession of these towns, but the very wish which those powers entertained in common proved the real security of the former; for it was very certain, that if the attempt had been made by one, the other three would immediately have interposed to prevent it. The truth is, that Napoleon even then wished to make an open seizure of these places, a pretext for which, however, he was not able to find till about four years afterwards.

The emperor arrived at Paris about the end of January, 1806. Having created kings in Germany, he deemed

it a favourable opportunity for surrounding his throne with a new race of princes. At this period, therefore, he created Murat Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg; Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo; M. de Talleyrand, Duke of Benevento; and his two former colleagues, Cambacères and Lebrun, Dukes of Parma and Placenza. He likewise gave to his sister Pauline, who had a short time before contracted a second marriage with the Prince Borghese, the title of Duchess of Guastalla. How extraordinary the course of events! Who could then have foreseen that the Duchy of Cambacères would afford a refuge to a princess of Austria, the widow of Napoleon, ere death had made her so?

The affairs of the Bourbon princes now wore every day a more unfavourable aspect, and such was the exhausted state of their finances, that it was intimated to the emigrants at Brunswick that the Pretender could no longer continue their pensions. This produced the greatest consternation amongst them, as it deprived many of their sole means of existence, who, notwithstanding their fidelity to the royal cause, were by no means disinclined that it should be strengthened by a pension.

With a view to put an end to all disputes, as regarded Holland, and dissatisfied, moreover, with the Dutch, who had not excluded English vessels from their ports so rigorously as he desired, the emperor formed these states into a kingdom, which he conferred upon his brother Louis.

CHAPTER XIX.

IN September, 1806, it was pretty evident that, as soon as war should break out between France and Prussia, Russia would not be long in forming an alliance with the latter. Peace, however, had been re-established between Napoleon and Alexander by virtue of a treaty just signed at Paris, by which Russia engaged to evacuate the mouths of the Cataro, a condition which she showed no great readiness to fulfil. I received, too, a number of the St. Petersburg *Court Gazette* containing an ukase of the Emperor of Russia, in which he pointed out the dangers which again menaced Europe ; and showed the necessity which existed of watching over the general tranquillity and the security of his own empire, declaring his intention, in consequence, not only of completing, but augmenting his army. A levy therefore was ordered of four men out of every five hundred inhabitants.—Before the commencement of hostilities Duroc was sent to the King of Prussia in order to discover if there were yet a possibility of renewing negotiations ; but affairs were already too much embarrassed, and all his endeavours were ineffectual. Perhaps, too, the King of Prussia had it no longer in his power to avoid a war with France ; but be that as it may, he certainly had just grounds of complaint against her emperor. For although the latter had given Hanover to him in exchange for the two Margravates, he had nevertheless offered the restitution of that province to England, as one of the conditions of the treaty entered into with Mr. Fox. These clandestine proceedings were not

unknown to the Berlin cabinet, and thus Duroc's mission was rendered useless by Napoleon's duplicity.

The King of Prussia was at this time at Weimar. The period was now approaching when the horrors of war were to be renewed in Germany, and in proportion as the hopes of peace were diminished the threats of Prussia redoubled. Inspired by the memory of the great Frederic, she was utterly averse to peace. Her measures, which hitherto had been sufficiently moderate, all at once assumed a menacing character, upon learning that the minister of the King of England had announced to parliament that France had consented to the restitution of Hanover. The French minister intimated to Prussia that this was a preliminary step towards a general peace, and that she would be liberally indemnified in return. But the King of Prussia, well aware how pertinaciously the house of Hanover clung to this ancient domain, which gave to England a certain preponderance in Germany, considered himself trifled with, and determined on war. He was, moreover, ambitious of the character of the liberator of Germany, and rejected every offer of compensation. Under these circumstances, Lord Lauderdale having been recalled from Paris by his government, the war with England continued, and was about to commence with Prussia. The cabinet of Berlin sent an ultimatum, couched in terms which almost amounted to a defiance. From the well-known character of Napoleon, we may judge of his irritation at this ultimatum; and after a stay of eight months in Paris, passed in ineffectual negotiations, he set out on the 25th of September for the Rhine. On the 10th of October, 1806, hostilities commenced between France and Prussia, and I demanded of the Senate that a stop should be put to the Prussian recruiting. The news of a great victory gained by the emperor over the Prussians on the 14th of October was brought to Hamburg on the 19th by some fugitives, who gave such contradictory and exaggerated accounts

of the loss the French army had sustained, that it was not till the 28th of October, when the official despatches arrived, that we knew whether to mourn or rejoice at the victory of Jena.

Victory everywhere declared in favour of the French. Prince Hohenlohe, who commanded a division of the Prussian army, was obliged to capitulate at Prentzlau. After this capitulation General Blucher took the command of the remains of the corps, to which he reunited those troops who, being absent from Prentzlau, were not included in the capitulation. These corps, in addition to those which Blucher had at Auerstaedt, were then almost the only ramparts of the Prussian monarchy. Soult and Bernadotte received orders from Murat for the close pursuit of Blucher, who, on his part, was using every effort to draw the forces of those two generals from Berlin. Blucher marched upon Lubeck, of which he took possession. Marshal Murat pursued the wreck of the Prussian army which had escaped from Saxony by way of Magdeburg, and Blucher was driven back upon Lubeck. To the army at Berlin the destruction of this corps was of the first consequence, being under the command of a brave and skilful general, who drew from the centre of military operations numerous troops, with which he might throw himself into Hanover, or Hesse, or even Holland, and by a junction with the English forces greatly harass the rear of the grand army.

During the campaign in Prussia nothing was talked of throughout Germany but the generous conduct of Napoleon in regard to Prince Hatzfeld. I became possessed of many interesting particulars relative to this event, and was fortunate enough to obtain a copy of a letter which the emperor wrote to Josephine on the subject, which I shall presently lay before the reader. I must premise that, in conformity with the inquisitorial system which too often characterized the emperor's government, and which extended to every country of which he had taken military possession, the first thing

done on entering a town was to take possession of the post office—and then, Heaven knows how little the privacy of correspondence was respected! Berlin was not exempted from this system, and among the letters thus intercepted and forwarded to Napoleon was one addressed to the King of Prussia by Prince Hatzfeld, who had imprudently ventured to remain in the Prussian capital. In this letter the prince communicated to his sovereign everything of importance that had transpired in Berlin since he had been obliged to leave it, together with the strength and situation of the divisions of which the French army was composed. The emperor, after reading this letter, gave orders that the prince should be arrested, and tried by a court-martial as a spy. The court had assembled, and its decision could hardly be a matter of doubt, when Madame Hatzfeld had recourse to Duroc, who on such occasions was always happy to facilitate an interview with the emperor. On that day Napoleon had been at a review in the environs of the city. Duroc was acquainted with Madame Hatzfeld, having frequently seen her during his visits to Berlin. On Napoleon's return from the review he was astonished to find Duroc at the palace at such an hour, and inquired if he had brought any news. Duroc replied in the affirmative, and followed the emperor into his closet, into which he shortly introduced Madame Hatzfeld. The remainder of the scene is related in Napoleon's letter before alluded to. This letter is evidently in reply to one from Josephine, reproaching him for the manner in which he spoke of women, and very probably of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Prussia, with regard to whom he had in one of his bulletins expressed himself in terms not sufficiently respectful. Napoleon's letter runs thus: "I have received your letter, in which it seems you reproach me for speaking ill of women. True it is that, above all things, I dislike female intriguers. I have been used to kind, gentle, and conciliatory women. Them I love, and if they have spoiled

me, it is not my fault, but yours. However, you will see that I have acted indulgently towards one sensible and deserving woman. I allude to Madame de Hatzfeld. When I showed her her husband's letter she burst into tears, and in a tone of the most exquisite grief and candour exclaimed, 'It is indeed his writing!' This was too much, it went to my heart, and I said, 'Well, Madame, throw the letter into the fire, and then I shall have no proof against your husband.' She burned the letter, and was restored to happiness. Her husband is now safe; two hours later, and he would have been lost. You see, therefore, that I like women who are feminine, simple, and amiable, for they alone resemble you. November 6th, 1806, 9 o'clock, p.m."

When Marshal Bernadotte had forced Blucher into Lubeck, and made him prisoner, he sent me information of the circumstance, but I was far from expecting that the prisoner would be intrusted to my charge. Such, however, was the case. After his surrender he was sent to Hamburg, where he had the whole city for a prison. During the whole time Blucher was under my surveillance at Hamburg, so far from seeking to add to the severity of his captivity, I was anxious to spare him those annoyances which a strict enforcement of my instructions would have occasioned. I was curious to become acquainted with this extraordinary man, and saw him very frequently. I found him an enthusiastic Prussian patriot, a man of unquestionable bravery, and enterprising even to rashness, but of defective education, and an extreme lover of pleasure, of which he took his full share during his stay at Hamburg. It was his custom to remain whole hours at table, and notwithstanding his exclusive patriotism he rendered ample justice to the wines of France. To pleasures of a more licentious nature he was likewise immoderately addicted, and spent a considerable part of his time at the gaming-table. His disposition was extremely gay, and considered merely as a boon companion he was agreeable enough.

The original style of his conversation amused me much. In spite of the disasters of the Prussian army, his confidence in the deliverance of Germany remained wholly unshaken. He often said to me: "I place great reliance in the public spirit of Germany, in the enthusiasm which prevails in our universities. The events of war are uncertain, and even defeats tend to keep alive in a people principles of honour, and a concern for the national glory. You may depend upon it, that when once a whole nation has determined to free itself from a humiliating yoke, it will succeed in doing so. There is no doubt but we shall end by having a *landwehre* very different from any levy which the worn-out spirit of the French could produce. England will always lend us the aid of her navy and her subsidies, and we will renew alliances with Austria and Russia. From my own certain knowledge I can pledge myself to the truth of one fact which you may rely upon, namely, that none of the allied powers engaged in the present war entertain views of territorial acquisition. All they unanimously desire is to put an end to the system of aggrandizement established by your emperor, and which he pursues with such alarming rapidity. In our first war against France at the commencement of your revolution, we fought about questions respecting the rights of kings, for which I assure you I care very little: the case is now widely different; the whole population of Prussia makes common cause with its government. The people fight in defence of their hearths and homes, and reverses destroy our armies without changing the spirit of the nation. I am tranquil as to the result, because I foresee that fortune will not always favour your emperor. It is impossible but that the time will come when all Europe, humbled by his extortions and impatient of his encroachments, will rise up together against him. The greater the number of nations that wear his chains, the more fearful will be the reaction, when they burst those chains asunder. It cannot be denied that he is tor-

mented with an insatiable desire of acquiring new territories. To the war of 1805 against Austria and Russia, the present has almost immediately succeeded. We have fallen ; Prussia is occupied, but Russia still remains to be conquered. What will be the event of the war it is not in my power to foresee, but admitting that the issue should be favourable to you, it will terminate only to be speedily renewed. If we but persevere, depend upon it France, exhausted even by her conquests, must eventually fall. Do you wish for peace ? Recommend it, and you will give the strongest proof of your love to your country." In this manner did Blucher constantly talk to me, and as I never deemed it necessary to carry my official character into the drawing-room, I replied frankly to his observations, preserving merely the degree of reserve requisite in my situation. I did not tell him how often my anticipations accorded with his own, but I never hesitated to acknowledge to him how greatly I desired to see a reasonable peace concluded. Before Blucher's arrival at Hamburg, it was visited by Prince Paul of Wirtemberg, the second son of one of the two kings created by Napoleon, whose crowns had not yet been worn a year. The young prince, who was imbued with the ideas of liberty and independence which then agitated Germany, had adopted a headlong proceeding. He had quitted Stuttgart to serve in the Prussian campaign without asking his father's permission, and this inconsiderate step might have exposed the King of Wirtemberg to Napoleon's resentment. The King of Prussia advanced Prince Paul to the rank of general, but he was taken prisoner at the very commencement of hostilities. The Prince of Wirtemberg was not, as has been falsely stated, conducted to Stuttgart by a captain of gendarmerie. He came to Hamburg, where I received several visits from him. At that time he did not appear to have any settled intentions, for after he was made prisoner he expressed to me his earnest desire to enter into the French service, and often asked

me to solicit for him an interview with the emperor. This he obtained, and remained for a long time in Paris, where I know he has frequently resided since the restoration.

When the King of Prussia found that defeat awaited him at every turn, he repented of having undertaken a war which had delivered his states into the power of Napoleon, in less time even than that in which Austria had fallen the year preceding. He wrote to the emperor requesting a suspension of hostilities. Rapp was present when Napoleon received the King of Prussia's letter. "It is too late," said he; "but no matter, I wish to put a stop to further bloodshed, and am ready to listen to any terms by which neither the honour nor the interests of the nation will be compromised." Then calling Duroc, he gave him orders to visit the wounded, and see that they wanted for nothing. "Visit each individual," he added, "on my behalf, and give them all the consolation of which they stand in need; afterwards seek the King of Prussia, and if he offers reasonable proposals, you will let me know." Negotiations were accordingly commenced, but Napoleon's conditions were considered wholly inadmissible. Prussia still hoped for assistance from the Russian forces; besides which the emperor's demands extended to England, who at that moment had no motive to accede to the pretensions of France. The emperor required that England should make restitution to France of all the colonies she had captured since the commencement of the war; that Russia should restore to the Porte Moldavia and Wallachia, which she then occupied; in short, he adopted the advice of the king in some tragedy or other, who told his ambassador to "ask everything, that you may obtain nothing." The emperor's demands were in fact so unreasonable, that it was scarcely possible to suppose that he himself expected they would be listened to.

Negotiations, alternately resumed and abandoned, were carried on with coldness on both sides, until the

moment that England had persuaded Russia to assist Prussia against France. They then altogether ceased, and it was only for the purpose of appearing to wish for their renewal, on terms still more favourable to France, that Duroc was sent to the King of Prussia, whom he found at Osterade, on the other side of the Danube. The only answer he received from that monarch was, "The time is passed," an observation nearly similar to Napoleon's, "It is too late," when he received his majesty's letter. Whilst Duroc was fulfilling his mission to the King of Prussia, I was myself negotiating at Hamburg. Bonaparte was extremely anxious to detach Sweden from the coalition, and to terminate the war with her by a separate treaty. Sweden, indeed, might prove very useful to him, if Prussia, Russia, and England should assemble any considerable forces in the north. Denmark was already with us, and could we gain Sweden also, the union of those two powers might create a diversion, and occasion serious alarm to the coalition, which would be obliged to concentrate its principal force to withstand the attack of the grand army in Poland. Never was a negotiation commenced under more favourable auspices ; but who could foresee what caprice would enter into the head of the King of Sweden ?

CHAPTER XX.

NAPOLEON had achieved the total humiliation of the Prussian monarchy in a campaign of a week's duration; yet severe as the exertions of his army had been, and splendid his success, and late as the season was now advanced, there ensued no pause of inaction: the emperor himself remained but a few days in Berlin.

This brief residence, however, was distinguished by the issue of the famous *decrees of Berlin*; those extraordinary edicts by which Bonaparte hoped to sap the foundations of the power of England—the one power which he had no means of assailing by his apparently irresistible arms.

Napoleon declared the British Islands to be in a state of blockade: any intercourse with that country was henceforth to be a crime; all her citizens found in any country in alliance with France to be prisoners; every article of English produce or manufacture, wherever discovered, to be confiscated. In a word, wherever France had power, the slightest communication with England was henceforth to be treason against the majesty of Napoleon; and every coast of Europe was to be lined with new armies of *douaniers* and *gens d'armes*, for the purpose of carrying into effect what he called the *continental system*.

This system originated in the war of 1806, and was brought into operation on the 21st of November of that year, by a decree dated at Berlin. The plan was conceived by weak-minded counsellors, who, perceiving

the emperor's indignation against England, her repugnance to enter into serious negotiations with him, and her incessant endeavours to arm the continent against him, had prevailed on him to issue this decree, which I can never view in another light than as an act of tyranny and madness. It was not a decree but fleets that were necessary. Without a navy, it was ridiculous to declare the British Isles in a state of blockade, whilst the English fleets were actually blockading all the French ports. This declaration, however, was made by Napoleon in the Berlin decree, and this is what was called the continental system: a system of fraud, of speculation and pillage. One can scarcely now conceive how Europe could endure for a single day that fiscal tyranny, which extorted exorbitant prices for articles which the habits of three centuries had rendered equally indispensable to rich and poor. So far from true is it that this system had for its sole and exclusive object the prevention of the sale of English goods, that licenses for that purpose were granted to any who were rich enough to pay for them. The quantity and quality of exported French goods were magnified to an extravagant degree. In order to comply with the emperor's wishes, it was necessary to take out a certain quantity of those articles, but it was only to throw them into the sea. And yet no one had the honesty to tell the emperor that England found a market for her goods on the continent, but bought scarcely anything. The speculation in licenses was carried to a scandalous extent, merely to enrich a favoured few, and to satisfy the short-sighted views of its besotted contrivers.

The ill-advised Berlin decree could not but produce a reaction fatal to the emperor's fortune, by making whole nations his enemies. The hurling of twenty kings from their thrones would have excited less hatred than this contempt for the wants of the people. This profound ignorance of the maxims of political economy was the source of general privation and misery, which

in their turn produced general hostility. The system could only succeed in the impossible event of all the powers of Europe honestly making common cause to carry it into effect. A single free port would destroy it. To ensure its complete success, it was necessary to conquer and occupy every country, and never to withdraw from any. As a means of ruining England it was perfectly ridiculous, since by prohibiting all intercourse with that country the interests of every other must have suffered. It was necessary, too, that the whole of Europe should be compelled by force of arms to enter into his absurd coalition, and that the same force should constantly be maintained to support it.

Napoleon received at Berlin a deputation of his senate sent from Paris to congratulate him on the successes of his campaign. To them he announced these celebrated decrees: he made them the bearers of the trophies of his recent victories, and, moreover, of a demand for the immediate levying of 80,000 men, being the *first* conscription for the year 1808—that for the year 1807 having been already anticipated. The subservient senate recorded and granted whatever their master pleased to dictate; but the cost of human life which Napoleon's ambition demanded had begun, ere this time, to be seriously thought of in France. He meanwhile prepared, without further delay, to extinguish the feeble spark of resistance which still lingered in a few garrisons of the Prussian monarchy beyond the Oder; and to meet, before they could reach the soil of Germany, those Russian legions which were now advancing, too late, to the assistance of Frederick William. That unfortunate prince sent Lucchesini to Berlin, to open, if possible, a negotiation with the victorious occupant of his capital and palace; but Bonaparte demanded Dantzic, and two other fortified towns, as the price of even the briefest armistice; and the Italian envoy returned to inform the king that no hope remained for him except in the arrival of the Russians.

Napoleon held in his hands the means of opening his campaign with those allies of Prussia, under circumstances involving his enemy in a new and probably endless train of difficulties. The Partition of Poland—that great political crime, for which every power that had a part in it has since been severely, though none of them adequately punished—had left the population of what had once been a great and powerful kingdom in a state of discontent and irritation, of which, had Napoleon been willing to make full use of it, the fruits might have been more dangerous for the Czar than any campaign against any foreign enemy. The French emperor had but to announce distinctly that his purpose was the restoration of Poland as an independent state, and the whole mass of an eminently gallant and warlike population would have risen instantly at his call. But Bonaparte was withheld from resorting to this effectual means of annoyance by various considerations, of which the chief were these : first, he could not emancipate Poland without depriving Austria of a rich and important province, and consequently provoking her once more into the field ; and secondly, he foresaw that the Russian emperor, if threatened with the destruction of his Polish territory and authority, would urge the war in a very different manner from that which he was likely to adopt while acting only as the ally of Prussia.

Before re-opening the great campaign, Bonaparte received the submission and explanation of the Elector of Saxony, who truly stated that Prussia had forced him to take part in the war. The apology was accepted, and from this time the elector adhered to the league of the Rhine, and was a faithful ally of Napoleon.

Bonaparte was not only beyond all comparison the greatest captain of modern times, but he may be said to have entirely changed the art of war. Formerly, even the most skilful generals were governed by the almanac as to the proper season for fighting ; and it was the settled custom in Europe to brave the battle's roar

only from the first fine days of spring to the last fine days of autumn. The months of rain, frost, and snow were passed in what were termed winter quarters. Bonaparte, at Austerlitz, had dared the inclemency of the season ; and so perfect was his success, that he determined on the same course of action at the commencement of the winter of 1806. His military genius and incredible activity seemed to increase, and, confident of his troops, he resolved to commence a winter campaign in a climate more rigorous than any in which he had hitherto fought. The men chained to his destiny were now to brave the northern blast as they had formerly Egypt's scorching sun. Skilful above every other general in the choice of his fields of battle, he was not willing to await tranquilly until the Russian army, which was advancing towards Germany, should come to measure its strength with him in the plains of conquered Prussia ; he resolved to march to meet it, and to reach it before it should have crossed the Vistula. But previous to his departure from Berlin to explore as a conqueror the territory of Poland and the confines of Russia, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he dwelt on their past achievements, and announced his intentions for the future. A forward movement was now indispensable ; since, had he waited until the Russians had passed the Vistula, there would probably have been no winter campaign, and he must of necessity either have taken up miserable winter quarters between that river and the Oder, or have recrossed the Oder to combat the enemy in Prussia. His military genius and indefatigable activity served him admirably on this occasion, and the proclamation just alluded to, which was dated from Berlin, before his departure for Charlottenburg, proves that he did not, as was sometimes the case, act from the impulse of the moment, but that his calculations had been carefully made. A rapid and immense impulse given to great masses of men by the will of a single individual

may produce a transient lustre, and, like the lightning's flash, dazzle for a moment the eyes of the multitude ; but when, at a distance from the theatre of glory, we witness only the melancholy results, the genius of conquest can only be considered as the genius of destruction. How sad a spectacle was often presented to my view !—continually obliged to listen to complaints of the general distress, and yet to execute orders which augmented the immense sacrifices already made by the city of Hamburg ! Thus, for example, the emperor desired me to furnish him with fifty thousand cloaks, which I immediately did. I felt the importance of such a demand at the approach of winter, and in a climate the rigour of which our soldiers had not yet experienced. I also received orders to seize at Lubeck four hundred thousand lasts of corn, and to send them to Magdeburg. This corn belonged to Russia. Marshal Mortier, too, seized some timber for building, belonging to the same state, the value of which was estimated at fourteen hundred thousand francs. Meanwhile our troops continued to advance with such rapidity, that before the end of November, Murat, who indeed was an enthusiast in war, had arrived at Warsaw, at the head of the advanced guard of the grand army, of which he had the command. The emperor's headquarters were then at Posen, where deputations from all parts came to solicit from him the re-establishment and independence of the kingdom of Poland. Rapp informed me that, after receiving the deputation from Warsaw, the emperor said to him, " I like the Poles, their enthusiastic character pleases me : I should like to make them an independent people, but that is no easy matter. The cake has been shared among too many ; there is Austria, and Russia, and Prussia, who have each had a piece ; besides, when the match is once kindled, who knows where the conflagration may stop ? My first duty is towards France ; I must not sacrifice her interests for Poland—in short, we must refer this matter to the

universal sovereign—Time ; he will show us by-and-by what we are to do.” The emperor made his entry into Warsaw on the 1st of January. The reports which he had previously received concurred, for the most part, in describing the dissatisfaction of his troops, who for some time past had been forced to contend with bad roads, bad weather, and all sorts of privations. Bonaparte inquired of those generals who told him of the discontent and despondency which had succeeded to the usual enthusiasm of his troops, “Does their spirit fail them when they come in sight of the enemy ?”—“No, Sire.”—“I was sure of it. My troops are always the same.” Then, turning to Rapp, he observed, “I must rouse them,” and shortly after dictated to them a most inspiring proclamation. When Bonaparte dictated his proclamations, and Heaven knows I have written enough from his dictation, he appeared for the moment inspired, and exhibited in some sort the excitement of the Italian *improvisatori*. In order to follow him, it was necessary to write with inconceivable rapidity. Frequently when reading over to him what he has dictated, I have known him smile as in triumph at the effect which he imagined any particular passage would produce. In general, his proclamations turned on three distinct points—praising his soldiers for what they had done, showing them what they had yet to do, and vilifying his enemies. The proclamation I have just alluded to was circulated profusely throughout Germany, and without having witnessed it, it is scarcely possible to conceive the effect it produced on the whole army. The corps stationed in the rear burned to pass, by forced marches, the space which still separated them from headquarters, and those who were nearer the emperor forgot their fatigues, their miseries and privations, and longed to engage the enemy. It not unfrequently happened that they were unable to comprehend what Napoleon meant in these proclamations ; but that gave them no sort of disturbance—it was the emperor’s proclamation, and, though hungry and

barefooted, they marched uncomplainingly along, recounting to one another the battles in which each had fought and bled. Such was the enthusiasm, or rather the fanaticism, which Napoleon could inspire among his soldiers, when he deemed it necessary, as he said, "to arouse them."

It has been already mentioned that the emperor arrived at Warsaw on the 1st of January. During his stay at Posen, he had, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Elector of Saxony, founded a new kingdom, and consequently extended his power in Germany by the annexation of the new kingdom of Saxony to the confederation of the Rhine. According to the terms of this treaty, Saxony, so justly celebrated for her cavalry, was to furnish the emperor with a contingent of 20,000 men and horses. This alliance proved very advantageous not so much on account of the men, as of the horses, which Saxony supplied in abundance to the French army.

From the moment of the emperor's arrival at Warsaw until hostilities had commenced against the Russians, he was continually solicited to re-establish the throne of Poland, and to restore its chivalrous independence to the ancient empire of the Jagellons. An individual who was at that time in Warsaw has told me, that the emperor was in the greatest uncertainty as to the measures he should adopt with regard to Poland. He was besieged by entreaties to re-establish that ancient and heroic kingdom; but he came to no decision, choosing, as was customary with him, to submit to events, that he might the more appear to command them. In fact, Napoleon passed a great part of his time at Warsaw in fêtes and drawing-rooms, which, however, did not prevent him from watching with his eagle eye that nothing was defective in any department of the public service, whether interior or exterior. He himself, it is true, was in the capital of Poland, but his mighty influence was everywhere present. I heard Duroc

say, when we were conversing together about the campaign of Tilsit, that Napoleon's activity and address were never more conspicuously displayed. The emperor employed the month of January in military preparations for the approaching attack of the Russians, but at the same time he did not neglect the business of the cabinet ; with him nothing was ever in arrears. I had seen him too often on the field of battle to be surprised at the instantaneous orders he gave, and though his situation at Warsaw was critical, I had known it still more so at Acre and Marengo on the eve of victory. In truth, while Napoleon was at Warsaw an expected engagement was not the only business in hand ; affairs were far more complicated than during the campaign of Vienna. It was necessary on the one hand to observe Prussia, which was occupied, and on the other to anticipate the Russians, the whole of whose movements indicated their intention to strike the first blow.

In the preceding campaign, Austria, before the taking of Vienna, was alone engaged. The case was very different now : Austria had only soldiers, and Prussia, as Blucher told me, was beginning to have citizens. There had been no difficulty in returning from Vienna ; from Warsaw, in case of failure, there might be a great deal, notwithstanding the creation of the kingdom of Saxony, and the provisional government given to Prussia and the other conquered states of Germany.

During the Prussian campaign Austria played precisely the same game as Prussia had done during the campaign of Austria. There was indecision in the one case, and indecision in the other. As Prussia had before the battle of Austerlitz awaited the success or defeat of the French army, to decide whether she should remain neuter, or declare against France ; so Austria, no doubt supposing that Russia would be more fortunate as the ally of Prussia than she had been as her ally, assembled in Bohemia a body of 40,000 men. That corps was called an army of observation, but the nature

of these armies of observation is pretty well known ; they belong to the same class as armed neutralities, and those ingenious inventions, sanitary cordons. The fact is, that the army assembled in Bohemia was destined to aid and assist the Russians in the event of the latter proving successful ; and who can reasonably blame the Austrian government for wishing for the opportunity of a revenge which might wash away the disgrace of the treaty of Presburg ? Under such circumstances, Napoleon had not a moment to lose ; but the activities of his mind required no further incitement, and as he had hastened the battle of Austerlitz to anticipate Prussia, so he now deemed it expedient to anticipate Russia, in order to keep Austria in a state of indecision.

The emperor, therefore, left Warsaw about the end of January, and immediately gave orders for the attack of the Russian army in the beginning of February ; but in spite of his desire to be the first to engage, he was anticipated. The attack was made on the part of the Russians on the 8th of February, at seven in the morning, during a terrible storm of snow, which fell in large flakes. They approached Preussisch Eylau, where the emperor was, and the imperial guard stopped the progress of the Russian column. Nearly the whole of the French army was engaged in that battle, one of the most sanguinary ever fought in Europe. The corps commanded by Bernadotte took no part in the engagement, having been stationed on the left at Mohrungen, whence it menaced Dantzic. The issue of this battle would have been very different had the four divisions of infantry and the two of cavalry, of which Bernadotte's corps was composed, arrived in time ; but, unfortunately, the officer intrusted with the orders to Bernadotte, directing him to march without loss of time upon Preussisch Eylau, was made prisoner by a troop of Cossacks, and Bernadotte in consequence did not arrive. Bonaparte, who always contrived to throw the blame on someone, if things did not turn out exactly as he wished,

attributed the doubtful success of the day to the absence of Bernadotte. This, in itself, was undoubtedly true; but to make that absence a matter of reproach to the marshal was the most cruel injustice. Bernadotte was accused of not being willing to march on Preussisch Eylau, although, as was asserted, General d'Hautpoult had informed him of the necessity of his assistance. But how could that fact be verified, since General d'Hautpoult was among the slain? Those who knew Bonaparte, his cunning, and the advantage he sometimes took of words which he attributed to the dead, will be at no loss to solve the enigma.

The battle of Eylau was terrible: the French held out, constantly, though vainly, expecting the arrival of Bernadotte; and, after a considerable loss, night came on, which the French army had the melancholy honour of passing on the field of battle. Bernadotte at length arrived, but too late, and met the enemy quietly retreating towards Königsberg, the only capital now remaining to Prussia.

After the battle of Eylau both sides remained stationary, and several days elapsed without any incident of importance. The offers of peace made by the emperor—with no great earnestness, it is true—were scornfully rejected, as if a victory disputed with Napoleon was to be regarded as a triumph. In short, it would seem as if the battle of Eylau had turned the heads of the Russians, who chanted *Te Deum* on the occasion. But whilst the emperor was making fresh preparations to advance, his diplomacy had succeeded in a distant quarter, and raised up against Russia an old and formidable enemy. Turkey declared war against her. This was a powerful diversion, and obliged Russia to expose her western frontiers, in order to form a line of defence on the south.

CHAPTER XXI.

AFTER the battle of Eylau I received a despatch from M. de Talleyrand, to which was added an account of that memorable battle, more disastrous to the conqueror than to the other party. I cannot in conscience say the conquered, when speaking of the Russians, particularly when I recollect the precautions which were then taken throughout Germany to make known the French account before the Russian should become known. The emperor rightly considered it of great importance, that the event of that day should be viewed by everyone as he himself professed to view it. But if the battle of Eylau was doubtful, that at Friedland could not be questioned, for its results were soon felt throughout Europe. "The Emperor Alexander sought an armistice, which was agreed to and ratified on the 23rd June; and on the 25th the Emperors of France and Russia met personally, each accompanied by a few attendants, on a raft moored on the river Niemen, near the town of Tilsit. The sovereigns embraced each other, and retiring under a canopy had a long conversation, to which no one was a witness. At its termination the appearances of mutual good-will and confidence were marked: immediately afterwards the town of Tilsit was neutralized, and the two emperors established their courts there, and lived together, in the midst of the lately hostile armies, more like old friends who had met on a party of pleasure than enemies and rivals attempting by diplomatic means the arrangement of differences which had for years been deluging Europe with blood."

The interview at Tilsit is one of the culminating points of modern history, and the waters of the Niemen reflected the image of Napoleon at the very height of his glory. Although not present on that remarkable occasion, I learnt, in common with the rest of the world, what took place in public at Tilsit. The interview between the two emperors and the unhappy situation of the King of Prussia are facts generally known, but few secret particulars connected with those events ever came to my knowledge. Rapp had been sent to Dantzic, and he it was who most readily communicated to me all that the emperor said and did, together with all that was passing around him. I was made acquainted, however, with one circumstance worthy of note, which occurred in the emperor's apartments at Tilsit, the first time he received a visit from the King of Prussia. That unfortunate monarch, accompanied by his queen Wilhelmina, had taken up his temporary abode in a mill a little way out of the town. This was his sole habitation, whilst the emperors occupied the two quarters of the town, which is divided by the Niemen. The fact I am about to relate was communicated to a person on whose veracity I can depend by an officer of the imperial guard, who was then on duty in Napoleon's apartment, and an eye-witness of it. When the Emperor Alexander visited Napoleon, they continued conversing a long time in a balcony, beneath which an immense crowd hailed their meeting with enthusiastic shouts. Napoleon commenced the conversation, as he had done the year preceding, with the Emperor of Austria, by alluding to the uncertain fate of war. In the midst of their conversation the King of Prussia was announced. He was evidently much affected, as may easily be conceived, since, hostilities being suspended, and his territories in possession of the French, his only hope was in the generosity of the conqueror. Napoleon himself, it is said, appeared touched by his situation, and invited him and the queen to dinner. On sitting down to table, Napoleon, with

much gallantry, signified to the beautiful queen that he would restore to her Silesia, a province which she greatly desired should be retained in the new arrangements which were necessarily about to take place. The treaty of peace concluded at Tilsit between France and Russia, on the 7th of July, and ratified two days after, was productive of a change in the geography of Europe no less remarkable than that effected by the treaty of Presburg in the year preceding. The latter, however, contained no stipulation dishonourable to Russia, whose territory was preserved inviolate ; but unhappy Prussia, how had she been treated ?

By the treaty of Tilsit Napoleon restored to Frederick William, Ancient Prussia, and the French conquests in Upper Saxony—the king agreeing to adopt “the continental system” ; in other words, to be henceforth the vassal of the conqueror. The Polish provinces of Prussia were erected into a separate principality, styled “the Grand Duchy of Warsaw,” and bestowed on the Elector of Saxony ; with the exception, however, of some territories assigned to Russia, and of Dantzic, which was declared a free city, to be garrisoned by French troops until the ratification of a maritime peace. The Prussian dominions in Lower Saxony and on the Rhine, with Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and various other small states, formed a new kingdom of Westphalia, of which Jerome Bonaparte, Napoleon’s youngest brother, was recognized as king. The Elector of Saxony was recognized as another king of Napoleon’s creation ; Joseph Bonaparte as King of Naples ; and Louis, of Holland. Finally Russia accepted the mediation of France for a peace with Turkey, and France that of Russia for a peace with England.

Such were the public articles of the peace of Tilsit ; but it contained secret articles besides, of which the English government were fortunate enough to ascertain the import. These were, that the Emperor of Russia had agreed not only to lay English commerce, in case

his mediation for a peace should fail, under the same ban with that of the decrees of Berlin, but to place himself at the head of a general confederation of the Northern Maritime Powers against the naval supremacy of England—in other words, resign his own fleets, with those of Denmark, to the service of Napoleon. In requital of this obligation the French emperor unquestionably agreed to permit the Czar to conquer Finland from Sweden—thereby adding immeasurably to the security of St. Petersburg.

It was about this time that the Danish consul communicated to me an official report from his government. He announced, that on Monday, the 3rd of August, a squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line and twelve frigates, under the command of Admiral Gambier, had passed the Sound, and that the rest of the squadron had been seen in the Cattegat. At the same time the English troops, which were in the island of Rügen, had re-embarked. We could not at first conceive what enterprise so considerable a force had been sent upon. But our uncertainty did not long continue. M. Didelot, the French ambassador at Copenhagen, arrived at Hamburg at nine o'clock in the evening of the 12th of August. He had had the good fortune to pass through the Great Belt, in sight of the English, without being stopped. I forwarded his report to Paris by an extraordinary courier. The English had sent 20,000 men under the command of Lord Cathcart, and twenty-seven vessels, into the Baltic. The coasts of Zealand were blockaded by ninety vessels. Mr. Jackson, who had been sent by England to negotiate with Denmark, which she feared would be invaded by the French troops, strengthened the demand he was instructed to make by a reference to the powerful armament which could enforce it. Mr. Jackson's proposition amounted to nothing less than a requisition that the King of Denmark should place in the custody of England the whole of his ships and naval stores. They were, it is true, to be kept in deposit, but

in the condition appeared the word "until," which afforded no security for their future restoration. They were to be detained until such precautions should be no longer necessary. A menace, and its execution, followed close upon this insolent demand. After a noble, though useless resistance, and a terrific bombardment, Copenhagen surrendered, and the Danish fleet was destroyed. It would be difficult to discover in history a more flagrant and revolting instance of the abuse of power against weakness. I have stated what were the principal consequences of the treaty of Tilsit; and it is more than probable that if the bombardment of Copenhagen had preceded the treaty, the emperor would have used Prussia even worse than he did. He might have erased her from the list of kingdoms, but he did not do so from regard to the Emperor Alexander. The destruction of Prussia, however, was by no means a new project of Napoleon's. I remember an observation of his to M. Lemer cier upon this very subject, when we first took up our residence at Malmaison. M. Lemer cier had been reading to the first consul some poem in which Frederick the Great was mentioned. "You seem to admire him greatly," said Bonaparte to M. Lemer cier: "what do you find in him so astonishing? He is not equal to Turenne." "General," replied M. Lemer cier, "it is not merely the warrior I esteem in Frederick, but one cannot refuse one's admiration of a man who, even on the throne, was a philosopher." To this the first consul replied, in a half-displeased tone, "True, true, Lemer cier, but all his philosophy shall not prevent me from striking out his kingdom from the map of Europe." The kingdom of Frederick the Great, however, was not struck out of the map, because the Emperor of Russia would not basely abandon a faithful ally, who had incurred with him the chances of fortune. Prussia had then ample reason to lament the subterfuge, which had prevented her from declaring against France during the campaign of Austerlitz.

Napoleon returned to Paris at the end of July after an absence of ten months, the longest he had yet made since he had been at the head of the French government, whether as consul or emperor. The interview at Tilsit, the friendship of the Emperor Alexander, which was everywhere spoken of in the most exaggerated terms, and the establishment of peace on the continent, procured for Napoleon a degree of moral influence over public opinion which he had not possessed since his coronation. I well knew, however, that England was determined to prevent Napoleon from becoming master of the entire continent, a project which he pursued with so little disguise that no one could doubt his intention respecting it. For two years he had certainly made rapid strides towards it ; but England was not discouraged. Her calculations were founded on the irritation of the sovereigns and the discontent of the people ; and she was well aware that, whenever she desired it, her golden lever would again raise up and arm the continent against the encroachments of Napoleon. He, on his part, perceiving that his attempts were all to no purpose, and that England would listen to none of his proposals, set himself to devise fresh schemes for raising up new enemies against England.

CHAPTER XXII.

TOWARDS the close of 1807 commenced the troubles in Spain, and the affairs of that country soon presented a most complicated aspect.

The secret history of the intrigues of 1807, between the French court and the rival parties in Spain, has not yet been clearly exposed. According to Napoleon, the first proposal for conquering Portugal by the united arms of France and Spain, and dividing that monarchy into three separate prizes, of which one should fall to the disposition of France, a second to the Spanish king, and a third reward the personal exertions of Godoy, came not from him, but from the Spanish minister. The suggestion has been attributed, by every Spanish authority, to the emperor; and it is difficult to doubt that such was the fact. The treaty, in which the unprincipled design took complete form, was ratified at Fontainebleau on the 29th of October, 1807, and accompanied by a convention, which provided for the immediate invasion of Portugal by a force of 28,000 French soldiers, under the orders of Junot, and of 27,000 Spaniards; while a reserve of 40,000 French troops were to be assembled at Bayonne, ready to take the field by the end of November, in case England should land an army for the defence of Portugal, or the people of that devoted country presume to meet Junot by a national insurrection.

Junot forthwith commenced his march through Spain, where the French soldiery were received everywhere

with coldness and suspicion, but nowhere by any hostile movement of the people. He would have halted at Salamanca to organize his army, but, in consequence of a peremptory order from Paris, he advanced at once into Portugal, and arrived there in the latter part of November. Godoy's contingent of Spaniards appeared there also, and placed themselves under Junot's command. Their numbers overawed the population, and they advanced, unopposed, towards the capital. The feeble government, meantime, having made, one by one, every degrading submission which France dictated, became convinced at length that no measures of subserviency could avert the doom which Napoleon had fulminated. A *Moniteur*, proclaiming that "the House of Braganza had ceased to reign," reached Lisbon. The Prince Regent re-opened his communications with the English admiral off the Tagus (Sir Sydney Smith) and the lately expelled ambassador (Lord Strangford), and being assured of their protection, embarked on the 27th of November, and sailed for the Brazils on the 29th, only a few hours before Junot made his appearance at the gates of Lisbon.

Napoleon thus saw Portugal in his grasp: but that he had all along considered as a point of minor importance, and he had accordingly availed himself of the utmost concessions of the treaty of Fontainebleau, without waiting for any insurrection of the Portuguese, or English debarkation on their territory. His army of reserve, in number far exceeding the 40,000 men named in the treaty, had already passed the Pyrenees, in two bodies, under Dupont and Moncey, and were advancing, slowly but steadily, into the heart of Spain. Nay, without even the pretext of being mentioned in the treaty, another French army of 12,000, under Duhesme, had penetrated through the eastern Pyrenees, and being received as friends among the unsuspecting garrisons, obtained possession of Barcelona, Pampeluna, and St. Sebastian, and the other fortified places in the north of

Spain, by a succession of treacherous artifices, to which the history of civilized nations presents no parallel.

It seems impossible that such daring movements should not have awakened the darkest suspicions at Madrid ; yet the royal family, overlooking the common danger about to overwhelm them and their country, continued, during three eventful months, to waste what energies they possessed in petty conspiracies, domestic broils, and, incredible as the tale will hereafter appear, in the meanest diplomatic intrigues with the court of France. A sudden panic at length seized the king or his minister, and the court, then at Aranjuez, prepared to retire to Seville, and, sailing from thence to America, seek safety, after the example of the house of Braganza. The servants of the Prince of Asturias, on perceiving the preparations for this flight, commenced a tumult, in which the populace of Aranjuez readily joined, and which was only pacified (for the moment) by a royal declaration that no flight was contemplated. On the 18th of March, 1808, the day following, a scene of like violence took place in the capital itself. The house of Godoy in Madrid was sacked. The favourite himself was assaulted at Aranjuez, on the 19th ; with great difficulty saved his life by the intervention of the royal guards ; and was placed under arrest. Terrified by what he saw at Aranjuez and heard from Madrid, Charles IV. abdicated the throne ; and on the 20th, Ferdinand, his son, was proclaimed king at Madrid, amidst a tumult of popular applause. Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, had before this assumed the chief command of all the French troops in Spain ; and hearing of the extremities to which the court factions had gone, he now moved rapidly on Madrid, surrounded that capital with 30,000 men, and took possession of it in person, at the head of 10,000 more, on the 23rd of March.

The emperor heard with much regret of the precipitancy with which his lieutenant had occupied Madrid—for his clear mind had foreseen ere now the imminent hazard of

trampling too rudely on the jealous pride of the Spaniards. He therefore sent Savary, in whose practised cunning and duplicity he hoped to find a remedy for the military rashness of Murat, to assume the chief direction of affairs at Madrid ; and the rumour was actively spread that the emperor was about to appear there in person without delay.

Madrid occupied and begirt by 40,000 armed strangers, his title unrecognized by Murat, his weak understanding and tumultuous passions worked upon incessantly by the malicious craft of Savary, Ferdinand was at length persuaded that his best chance of securing the aid and protection of Napoleon lay in advancing to meet him on his way to the capital, and striving to gain his ear before the emissaries of Godoy should be able to fill it with their reclamations. Savary eagerly offered to accompany him on this fatal journey, which began on the 10th of April. The infatuated Ferdinand had been taught to believe that he should find Bonaparte at Burgos ; not meeting him there, he was tempted to pursue his journey as far as Vittoria : and from thence, in spite of the populace, who, more sagacious than their prince, cut the traces of his carriage, he was, by a repetition of the same treacherous arguments, induced to proceed stage by stage, and at length to pass the frontier and present himself at Bayonne, where the arbiter of his fate lay anxiously expecting this consummation of his almost incredible folly. He arrived there on the 20th of April, was received by Napoleon with courtesy, entertained at dinner at the imperial table, and the same evening informed by Savary that his doom was sealed—that the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign in Spain, and that his personal safety must depend on the readiness with which he should resign all his pretensions into the hands of Bonaparte.

He, meanwhile, as soon as he was aware that Ferdinand had actually set out from Madrid, had ordered Murat to find the means of causing the old king, the queen, and

Godoy, to repair also to Bayonne; nor does it appear that his lieutenant had any difficulty in persuading these personages that such was the course of conduct most in accordance with their interests. They reached Bayonne on the 4th of May, and Napoleon, confronting the parents and the son on the 5th, witnessed a scene in which the profligate rancour of their domestic feuds reached extremities hardly to have been contemplated by the wildest imagination.

Charles IV. resigned the crown of Spain for himself and his heirs, accepting in return from the hands of Napoleon a safe retreat in Italy, and a large pension. Godoy, who had entered into the fatal negotiation of Fontainebleau with the hope and the promise of an independent sovereignty carved out of the Portuguese dominions, was pensioned off in like manner, and ordered to partake of the Italian exile of his patrons. A few days afterwards, Ferdinand VII., being desired to choose at length between compliance and death, followed the example of his father, and executed a similar act of resignation.

Ferdinand, before he left Madrid, had invested a council of regency with the sovereign power, his uncle, Don Antonio, being president, and Murat one of the members. Murat's assumption of the authority thus conferred, the departure of Ferdinand, the liberation and departure of the detested Godoy, the flight of the old king—these occurrences produced their natural effects on the popular mind. A dark suspicion that France meditated the destruction of the national independence began to spread; and, on the 2nd of May, when it transpired that preparations were making for the journey of Don Antonio also, the general rage at last burst out. A crowd collected round the carriage meant, as they concluded, to convey the last of the royal family out of Spain; the traces were cut; the imprecations against the French were furious. Colonel La Grange, Murat's aide-de-camp, happening to appear on the spot, was

cruelly maltreated. In a moment the whole capital was in an uproar : the French soldiery were assaulted everywhere—about 700 were slain. The mob attacked the hospital—the sick and their attendants rushed out and defended it. The French cavalry, hearing the tumult, entered the city by the gate of Alcala—a column of 3,000 infantry from the other side by the street Ancha de Bernardo. Some Spanish officers headed the mob, and fired on the soldiery in the streets of Maravalles : a bloody massacre ensued : many hundreds were made prisoners : the troops, sweeping the streets from end to end, released their comrades ; and, to all appearance, tranquillity was restored ere nightfall. During the darkness, however, the peasantry flocked in, armed, from the neighbouring country ; and, being met at the gates by the irritated soldiery, not a few more were killed, wounded, and made prisoners. Murat ordered all the prisoners to be tried by a military commission, which doomed them to instant death.

This commotion had been preceded by a brief insurrection, easily suppressed and not unlikely to be soon forgotten, on the 23rd of April, at Toledo. The events in the capital were of a more decisive character, and the amount of the bloodshed, in itself great, was much exaggerated in the reports which flew, like wildfire, throughout the Peninsula. In almost every town of Spain, and almost simultaneously, the flame of patriotic resentment broke out in the terrible form of assassination. The French residents were slaughtered without mercy : the supposed partisans of Napoleon and Godoy were sacrificed in the first tumult of popular rage. At Cadiz, Seville, Carthagena, above all in Valencia, the streets ran red with blood.

Napoleon received the intelligence with alarm ; but he had already gone too far to retract without disturbing the magical influence of his reputation. He, moreover, was willing to flatter himself that the lower population of Spain alone took an active part in these trans-

actions ; that the nobility, whose degradation he could hardly over-estimate, would abide by his voice ; in a word, that with 80,000 troops in Spain, besides Junot's army in Portugal, he possessed the means of suppressing the tumult after the first effervescence should have escaped. He proceeded, therefore, to act precisely as if no insurrection had occurred. Tranquillity being re-established in Madrid, the Council of Castile were convoked, and commanded to elect a new sovereign ; their choice had of course been settled beforehand : it fell on Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples : and ere it was announced, that personage was already on his way to Bayonne. Ninety-five *Notables* of Spain met him in that town, and swore fealty to him and a new constitution.

The patriotic feeling which had been thus exhibited throughout the country was encouraged by the British commanders on the coast of Spain ; and, without waiting for orders from home, they openly espoused the cause of the insurgents.

The King of England on the 4th of July addressed his parliament on the subject, and said, "The Spanish nation, thus nobly struggling against the usurpation and tyranny of France, can no longer be considered as the enemy of Great Britain, but is recognized by me as a natural friend and ally." The Spanish prisoners of war were forthwith released, clothed, equipped, and sent back to their country. Supplies of arms and money were liberally transmitted thither : and, Portugal at the same time bursting into general insurrection also, a formal treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was soon concluded between England and the two kingdoms of the Peninsula.

This insurrection furnished Great Britain with what she had not yet possessed during the war, a favourable theatre whereon to oppose the full strength of her empire to the arms of Napoleon ; and the opportunity was embraced with zeal, though for some time but little skill appeared in the manner of using it. At the moment

when the insurrection occurred, 20,000 Spanish troops were in Portugal under the orders of Junot; 15,000 more, under the Marquis de la Romana, were serving Napoleon in Holstein. There remained 40,000 Spanish regulars, 11,000 Swiss, and 30,000 militia; but of the best of these the discipline, when compared with French or English armies, was contemptible. The nobility, to whose order the chief officers belonged, were divided in their sentiments—perhaps the greater number inclined to the interests of Joseph. Above all, the troops were scattered, in small sections, over the face of the whole country, and there was no probability that any one regular army would be able to muster so strong as to withstand the efforts of a mere fragment of the French force already established within the kingdom. The fleets of Spain had been destroyed in the war with England: her commerce and revenues had been mortally wounded by the alliance with France and the maladministration of Godoy. Ferdinand was detained a prisoner in France. There was no natural leader or chief, around whom the whole energies of the nation might be expected to rally. It was amidst such adverse circumstances that the Spanish people rose everywhere, smarting under intolerable wrongs, against a French army, already 80,000 strong, in possession of half the fortresses of the country, and in perfect communication with the mighty resources of Napoleon.

The Spanish arms were at first exposed to many reverses; the rawness of their levies, and the insulated nature of their movements, being disadvantages of which it was not difficult for the experienced generals and overpowering numbers of the French to reap a full and bloody harvest. After various petty skirmishes, in which the insurgents of Arragon were worsted by Lefebvre Desnouettes, and those of Navarre and Biscay by Bessières, the latter officer came upon the united armies of Castile, Leon, and Gallicia, commanded by the Generals Cuesta and Blake, on the 14th of July, at

Riosecco, and defeated them in a desperate action, in which not less than 20,000 Spaniards died.

But the fortune of war, after the great day of Riosecco, was everywhere on the side of the patriots. Duhesme, who had so treacherously possessed himself of Barcelona and Figueras, found himself surrounded by the Catalonian mountaineers, who, after various affairs, in which much blood was shed on both sides, compelled him to shut himself up in Barcelona. Marshal Moncey conducted another large division of the French towards Valencia, and was to have been further reinforced by a detachment from Duhesme. The course of events in Catalonia prevented Duhesme from affording any such assistance : and the inhabitants of Valencia, male and female, rising *en masse*, and headed by their clergy, manned their walls with such determined resolution that the French marshal was at length compelled to retreat.

A far more signal catastrophe had befallen another powerful *corps d'armée*, under General Dupont, which marched from Madrid towards the south, with the view of suppressing all symptoms of insurrection in that quarter, and, especially, of securing the great naval station of Cadiz, where a French squadron lay. Dupont's force was increased as he advanced, till it amounted to 20,000 men ; and with these he took possession of Baylen and La Carolina, in Andalusia, and stormed Jaen. But before he could make these acquisitions, the citizens of Cadiz had universally taken the patriot side ; the commander of the French vessels had been forced to surrender them ; and the place, having opened a communication with the English fleet, assumed a posture of determined defence. General Castanos, the Spanish commander in that province, who had held back from battle until his raw troops should have had time to be disciplined, began at length to threaten the position of the French. Jaen was attacked by him with such vigour, that Dupont was fain to evacuate it, and fall back to Baylen, where his troops soon suffered severe

privations, the peasantry being in arms all around them, and the supply of food becoming from day to day more difficult. On the 16th of July, Dupont was attacked at Baylen by Castanos, who knew from an intercepted despatch the extent of his enemy's distress; the French were beaten, and driven as far as Menjibar. They returned on the 18th, and attempted to recover Baylen; but, after a long and desperate battle, in which 3,000 of the French were killed, Dupont, perceiving that the Spaniards were gathering all around in numbers not to be resisted, proposed to capitulate. In effect, he and 20,000 soldiers laid down their arms at Baylen, on condition that they should be transported in safety to France. The Spaniards broke this convention, and detained them as prisoners—thus imitating the perfidy of Napoleon's own conduct to Spain. The richest part of Spain was freed wholly of the invaders: the light troops of Castanos pushed on, and swept the country before them; and within ten days, King Joseph perceived the necessity of quitting Madrid, and removed his headquarters to Vittoria.

In the meantime, Lefebvre Desnouettes, whose early success in Arragon has been alluded to, was occupied with the siege of Saragossa—the inhabitants of which city had risen in the first outbreak, and prepared to defend their walls to the last extremity. Don Jose Palafox, a young nobleman who had made his escape from Bayonne, was invested with the command. The importance of success in this enterprise was momentous, especially after the failure of Moncey at Valencia. Napoleon himself early saw that if the Valencians should be able to form a union with the Arragoneses at Saragossa, the situation of the Catalonian insurgents on the one side would be prodigiously strengthened; while, on the other hand, the armies of Leon and Galicia (whose coasts offered the means of continual communication with England) would conduct their operations in the immediate vicinity of the only great road left open

between Madrid and Bayonne—the route by Burgos. He therefore had instructed Savary to consider Saragossa as an object of the very highest importance ; but the corps of Lefebre was not strengthened as the emperor would have wished it to be, ere he sat down before Saragossa. The siege was pressed with the utmost vigour ; but the immortal heroism of the citizens baffled all the valour of the French. There were no regular works worthy of notice : but the old Moorish walls, not above eight or ten feet in height, and some extensive monastic buildings in the outskirts of the city, being manned by crowds of determined men, whose wives and daughters looked on, nay, mingled boldly in their defence—the besiegers were held at bay week after week, and saw their ranks thinned in continual assaults without being able to secure any adequate advantage. Famine came and disease in its train, to aggravate the sufferings of the townspeople ; but they would listen to no suggestions but those of the same proud spirit in which they had begun. The French at length gained possession of the great convent of St. Engracia, and thus established themselves within the town itself : their general then sent to Palafox this brief summons : “ Headquarters, Santa Engracia—Capitulation ” ; but he received for answer, “ Headquarters, Saragossa—War to the knife.” The battle was maintained literally from street to street, from house to house, and from chamber to chamber. Men and women fought side by side, amidst flames and carnage ; until Lefebre received the news of Baylen, and having wasted two months in his enterprise, abandoned it abruptly, lest he should find himself insulated amidst the general retreat of the French armies. Such was the first of the two famous sieges of Saragossa.

The English government meanwhile had begun their preparations for interfering effectually in the affairs of the Peninsula. They had despatched one body of troops to the support of Castanos in Andalusia ; but

these did not reach the south of Spain until their assistance was rendered unnecessary by the surrender of Dupont at Baylen. A more considerable force, amounting to 10,000, sailed early in June, from Cork, for Corunna, under the command of the Hon. Sir Arthur Wellesley. Sir Arthur, being permitted to land at what point of the Peninsula he should judge most advantageous for the general cause, was soon satisfied that Portugal ought to be the first scene of his operations, and accordingly lost no time in opening a communication with the patriots, who had taken possession of Oporto. Here the troops which had been designed to aid Castanos joined him. Thus strengthened, and well informed of the state of the French armies in Spain, Sir Arthur resolved to effect a landing, and attack Junot while circumstances seemed to indicate no chance of his being reinforced by Bessières.

It was on the 8th of August, 1808—a day ever memorable in the history of Britain—that Sir Arthur Wellesley effected his debarkation in the bay of Mondego. He immediately commenced his march towards Lisbon, and on the 17th came up with the enemy under General Laborde, strongly posted on an eminence near Roriça. The French contested their ground gallantly, but were driven from it at the point of the bayonet, and compelled to retreat. The British general, having hardly any cavalry, was unable to pursue them so closely as he otherwise would have done: and Laborde succeeded in joining his shattered division to the rest of the French forces in Portugal. Junot (recently created Duke of Abrantes) now took the command in person; and finding himself at the head of full 24,000 troops, while the English army were greatly inferior in numbers, and miserably supplied with cavalry and artillery, he did not hesitate to assume the offensive. On the 21st of August he attacked Sir Arthur at Vimiero. In the language of the English general's despatch, "a most desperate contest ensued"; and the result was "a signal defeat." Junot having lost thirteen cannon and more than 2,000 men,

immediately fell back upon Lisbon, where his position was protected by the strong defile of Torres Vedras.

It is to be regretted that, in the moment of victory, Sir Arthur should have been superseded by the arrival of an officer of superior rank, who did not consider it prudent to follow up the victory. Junot a few days after sent Kellerman to demand a truce, and propose a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the troops under his orders. General Sir Hugh Dalrymple, who had succeeded Sir Arthur Wellesley in the command, granted the desired armistice. Junot offered to surrender his magazines, stores, and armed vessels, provided the British would disembark his soldiers, with their arms, at any French port between Rochefort and L'Orient, and permit them to take with them their private property; and Dalrymple did not hesitate to agree to these terms, although Sir John Moore arrived off the coast with a reinforcement of 10,000 men during the progress of the negotiation. The famous *Convention of Cintra* was signed accordingly on the 30th of August; and the French army wholly evacuated Portugal in the manner provided for. Thus Portugal was freed from the presence of her enemies, and England obtained a permanent footing within the Peninsula. The character of the British army was also raised, not only abroad, but at home; and had the two insurgent nations availed themselves, as they ought to have done, of the resources which their great ally placed at their command, and conducted their own affairs with unity and strength of purpose, the deliverance of the whole Peninsula might have been achieved years before that consummation actually took place.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE year 1808 was fertile in remarkable events. Occupied as I was with my own official duties, I still contrived to amuse a few leisure moments in observing the course of those great actions by which Bonaparte sought to distinguish every day of his life. At the commencement of 1808 I received one of the first copies of the *Code of Commerce*, promulgated on the 1st of January by the emperor's order. This Code appeared to me an absolute mockery; at least it was extraordinary to publish a Code respecting a subject which all the other imperial decrees tended to destroy. What trade could possibly be supposed to flourish under the cruel continental system, and the ruinous severity of the customs? The line was already sufficiently extended, when by a decree of the Senate it was still further widened. The emperor, who was all-powerful on the continent, had recourse to no other formality in order to annex to the empire the towns of Kehl, Cassel, near Mentz, Wessel, and Flushing, with the territories dependent on them, than his decrees and senatorial decisions, which at least had the advantage of being obtained without bloodshed. Intelligence on all these matters was immediately forwarded to me, by the ministers with whom I was in correspondence; for my situation at Hamburg had acquired such importance that it was necessary I should be informed of everything.

My correspondence relative to what was passing in the south of France and of Europe afforded me merely an anecdotal interest. But not so the news which came

from the north. At Hamburg I was like the sentinel of an advanced post, always on the alert. More than once I sent information to the government of what was about to take place, before the event actually happened. I was one of the first that gained intelligence of the plans of Russia relative to Sweden. The courier whom I sent to Paris must have arrived there at the very moment when Russia declared war against that power. About the end of February the Russian troops entered Swedish Finland, and possessed themselves of the capital of that province, which had long been coveted by the Russian government. It has been since asserted that, at the interview at Erfurt, Bonaparte consented to the usurpation of that province by Alexander, in return for the latter's complaisance in acknowledging Joseph as King of Spain and the Indies. Joseph was succeeded at Naples by Murat, and that accession of the brother-in-law of Napoleon to one of the thrones of the house of Bourbon gave Bonaparte another junior in the college of kings, of which he would infallibly have become the senior, had fortune still sided with him. Bonaparte, when his brow was encircled with a double crown, after creating princes, at length realized the idea he had so long entertained of being the founder of a new nobility, endowed with hereditary rights. It was at the commencement of March, 1808, that he accomplished this notable project ; and I saw, in the *Moniteur*, a long catalogue of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights of the empire. Viscounts and marquises were alone wanting to the list.

At the time that Napoleon was founding a new nobility, he determined to build up again the ancient edifice of the university, but upon a fresh foundation. The education of youth had always been one of his ruling ideas, and I had an opportunity of remarking how much he was changed by the exercise of sovereign power, when I received at Hamburg the new statutes of the university, and compared them with the ideas which he formerly,

when general and first consul, had often expressed respecting the education of youth. Though the natural enemy of everything like liberty, the system of education which Bonaparte had at first conceived was upon a vast and extended scale, comprehending the study of history, and those positive sciences, such as geology and astronomy, which afford the utmost scope for development of which the human mind is susceptible. The sovereign, however, shrunk from the first ideas of the man of genius, and his university, confided to the elegant subserviency of M. de Fontanes, was but a mere school, which might indeed send forth well-informed but scarcely high-minded and enlightened men.

About this time Rome was occupied by French troops, under the command of General Miollis, which was the commencement of a long series of troubles, by which Pius VII. expiated the condescension he had shown in going to Paris to crown Napoleon.

Rome now became the second city of the empire ; but until this time the boasted moderation of Bonaparte had contented itself with dismembering from the Papal states the legations of Ancona, Urbino, Marcerata, and Camerino, which were divided into three departments, and added to the kingdom of Italy. The patience and long-suffering of the Holy See could no longer hold out against this act of violence, and Cardinal Caprara, who had remained in Paris since the coronation, at length quitted that capital. Shortly afterwards the Grand Duchies of Parma and Placentia were united to the French empire, and annexed to the government of the Transalpine departments. These transactions took place about the same time as the events in Spain and Bayonne, before mentioned.

After the disgraceful conduct of the emperor at Bayonne, he returned to Paris on the 14th of August, the eve of his birthday. Scarcely had he arrived in the capital, when he conceived fresh subjects for uneasiness, on account of the conduct of Russia, which, as I have

stated, had declared open war against Sweden, and made no secret of the intention of seizing Finland. The emperor, however, desirous of prosecuting the war in Spain with the utmost vigour, felt the necessity of withdrawing his troops from Prussia to the Pyrenees. He then hastened the interview at Erfurt, where the two Emperors of France and Russia had appointed to meet. By this interview he hoped to secure the tranquillity of the continent, while he should complete the subjugation of Spain to the sceptre of Joseph. That prince had been proclaimed on the 8th of June, and on the 21st of the same month he made his entry into Madrid; but ten days after, having received information of the disaster of Baylen, he was obliged to leave the Spanish capital.

The interview at Erfurt having been determined on, the emperor again quitted Paris about the end of September, and arrived at Metz without stopping, except for the purpose of reviewing the regiments which he met on his route, and which were on their march from the grand army to Spain. I had received previous intelligence of this intended interview, so memorable in the life of Napoleon; and such was the interest it excited in Germany, that the roads were covered with the equipages of the princes who were going to Erfurt to be present on the occasion. The emperor arrived at the place of rendezvous before Alexander, and went forward three leagues to meet him. Napoleon was on horseback, and Alexander in his carriage. They embraced, it is said, with every demonstration of the most cordial friendship. I shall not dwell on other well-known particulars relating to this interview, at which most of the sovereign princes of Germany were present, with the exception, however, of the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria. The latter sovereign sent a letter to Napoleon, which to me appeared a perfect model of ambiguity, though it was scarcely possible that Napoleon could be deceived by it. He had not as

yet, however, any suspicion of the hostile intentions of Austria, which soon afterwards became apparent ; his grand object at that time was the Spanish business ; and, as I have before observed, one of the secrets of Napoleon's genius was, that he gave his attention to only one thing at a time.

By the interview at Erfurt, Bonaparte obtained the principal object he had in view, namely, Alexander's recognition of his brother Joseph in his new character of King of Spain and the Indies. It has been said that, as the price of this acknowledgment, Napoleon consented that Alexander should have Swedish Finland ; for the truth of this I cannot vouch, having no positive proofs of the fact. I remember, however, that when, after the interview at Erfurt, Alexander had given orders to his ambassador to Charles IV. to continue his functions under King Joseph, the Swedish chargé d'affaires at Hamburg told me that confidential letters, which he had received from Erfurt, led him to apprehend that the Emperor Alexander had communicated to Napoleon his designs on Finland, and that the latter had consented to its occupation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE emperor, enraged at the first positive disgraces which had ever befallen his arms, and foreseeing that unless the Spanish insurrection were crushed ere the patriots had time to form a regular government and to organize their armies, the succours of England, and the growing discontents of Germany, might invest the task with insurmountable difficulties, determined to cross the Pyrenees in person, at the head of a force capable of sweeping the whole peninsula clear before him. Hitherto no mention of the unfortunate occurrences in Spain had been made in any public act of his government, or suffered to transpire in any of the French journals. It was now necessary to break this haughty silence. The emperor announced, accordingly, that the peasants of Spain had rebelled against their *king*; that treachery had caused the ruin of one corps of his army; and that another had been forced, by the English, to evacuate Portugal: demanding two new conscriptions each of 80,000 men—which were of course granted without hesitation. Recruiting his camps on the German side, and in Italy, with these new levies, he now ordered his veteran troops, to the number of 200,000, including a vast and brilliant cavalry, and a large body of the imperial guards, to be drafted from those frontiers, and marched through France towards Spain.

On his return from the conference at Erfurt, which had terminated on the 14th of October, Napoleon opened in person, on the 24th, the sittings of the Legislative Session in Paris; and two days after he left that capital

to take the command of the armies in Spain, and reached Bayonne on the 3rd of November. He remained there for a few days, directing the movements of the last columns of his advancing armies, and on the 8th arrived at Vittoria. He immediately obtained a detailed report of the position of the French and Spanish armies, and instantly drew up a plan for the prosecution of the war ; and in a few hours the whole machinery of his intended operations was put in motion. The presence of Napoleon everywhere restored victory to the French standards, and in less than two months he had cleared the Peninsula of any opposing force, and obliged the English army, under Sir John Moore, to make a precipitate retreat upon Corunna. Napoleon, after enjoying the sight of an English army in full retreat, no longer considered it worthy of his own attention, but intrusted the consummation of its ruin to Soult ; and immediately proceeded to Paris with his utmost speed. The cause of this sudden change of purpose and extraordinary haste was a sufficient one ; and ere long it transpired.

It was in the midst of the operations of the Spanish war that Napoleon learned that Austria had, for the first time, raised the *landwehre*. I obtained the most certain information that Austria was preparing for war, and that orders had been issued in all directions to collect and put in motion all the resources of that powerful monarchy. I communicated these particulars to the French government, and strongly suggested the necessity of increased vigilance and precautionary measures. Preceding aggressions, particularly that of 1805, were not to be forgotten. It is probable that similar information was furnished from other quarters. Be that as it may, the emperor committed the military operations in Spain to his generals, and set out for Paris, where he arrived at the end of January, 1809. He had been in Spain only since the beginning of November, and though the insurgent troops were defeated, the inhabitants, still unsubdued, showed themselves more and more

unfavourable to Joseph's cause, and it did not appear very probable that he would ever seat himself tranquilly on the throne of Madrid.

Before commencing a relation of what came to my knowledge respecting the German campaign which was about to begin, I must be permitted to refer back to one of the most important events preceding it. When speaking of the interview at Erfurt, it will be remembered that I alluded to a somewhat ambiguous letter transmitted from the Emperor Francis to Napoleon. The answer to this letter, which I purposely omitted in its proper place, that it might serve as an introduction to the events of 1809, seemed to be written in the spirit of prophecy, clearly pointing out what actually took place in that year. It was in the following terms :—

“ SIRE, MY BROTHER,

“ I thank your royal and imperial majesty for the letter you have been so good as to write me, transmitted by Baron Vincent. I have never doubted the upright intentions of your majesty, but I was not the less fearful for the moment that hostilities would be renewed between us. There is, at Vienna, a faction which affects alarm in order to drive your cabinet to violent measures, which would entail misfortunes greater than those which are past. I had it in my power to dismember your majesty's monarchy, or at least to diminish its power. I did not do so. It exists as it is by my consent. This is the best proof that our accounts are settled, and that I have no wish to injure you. I am always ready to guarantee the integrity of your monarchy; I will never do anything adverse to the important interests of your state. But your majesty ought not to bring again under discussion what a war of fifteen years had settled. You ought to avoid every proclamation or act calculated to provoke hostility. The last levy in mass might have had this effect, if I had apprehended that the levy and preparations were made in conjunction with Russia. I

have just disbanded the camp of the Confederation. I have sent 100,000 men to Boulogne, to renew my projects against England. I had reason to believe, when I had the happiness of seeing your majesty, and had concluded the treaty of Presburg, that our disputes were terminated for ever, and that I might undertake the maritime war without interruption. I beseech your majesty to distrust those who, by speaking of the dangers of the monarchy, disturb your happiness, and that of your family and people. Those persons alone are dangerous ; they create the dangers they pretend to fear. By a straightforward, plain, and ingenuous line of conduct, your majesty will render your people happy ; will yourself enjoy that tranquillity which, after so many troubles, you must doubtless require ; and will be sure of ever finding me disposed to abstain from whatever might be injurious to your best interests. Let your conduct bespeak confidence, and you will inspire it. The best policy at the present time is simplicity and truth. Confide to me whatever troubles may distress you, and I will instantly banish them. Will your majesty allow me to make one observation more—listen to your own judgment, your own feelings ; they are much more correct than those of your advisers. I beseech your majesty to read my letter in the same spirit in which it is written, and to see nothing in it which has not for its object the welfare and tranquillity of Europe and your majesty.”

From this letter of Napoleon, I had no doubt that a new war would soon ensue between France and Austria. The tone of superiority assumed by Napoleon, as if he had been writing to one of the princes subject to his Confederation of the Rhine, was indeed of a nature to irritate the wounded pride of the heir of the Cæsars. The cabinet of Vienna was also attacked in a manner calculated to irritate all its members against Napoleon. Illusion, however, that last source of misfortune,

appeared in a seducing form before the eyes of Austria. True, she had been conquered once, but it did not therefore follow that she should be conquered again. She might recover what she had lost, and the war which Napoleon was obliged to maintain, at an immense expense of men and money, in the Peninsula, gave her chances of success which she had not possessed on the former occasion, when England alone was at war with France ; and when, above all, England had not, as she had at that moment, a part of Europe where she could employ her land forces against the power of Napoleon. Whether undesignedly, or from a wish that, in the new war about to take place, it might evidently appear that he was not the aggressor, Napoleon suffered himself to be anticipated.

The Emperor Francis, however, notwithstanding the instigations of his counsellors, hesitated about taking the first step ; but at length yielding to the open solicitations of England, and the secret insinuations of Russia, and, above all, seduced by the subsidies of Great Britain, he declared hostilities, not at first against France, but against her allies of the Confederation of the Rhine. On the 9th of April, Prince Charles, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops, addressed the following note to the commander-in-chief of the French army in Bavaria :—

“ In conformity with a declaration made by his majesty, the Emperor of Austria, to the Emperor Napoleon, I hereby apprise the general-in-chief of the French army that I have orders to advance with my troops, and to treat as enemies all who oppose me.”

A courier carried a copy of this declaration to Strasburg with the utmost expedition, from which place it was transmitted by telegraph to Paris. The emperor, surprised, but not disconcerted by this intelligence, received it at St. Cloud on the 11th of April, and two

hours after he was on his road to Germany. The complexity of affairs in which he was then engaged seemed to give a fresh impulse to his activity. When he reached the army, neither the troops nor his guard having been able to keep up with him, he placed himself at the head of the Bavarian regiments, thus adopting, as it were, the soldiers of Maximilian. Six days after his departure from Paris, the army of Prince Charles, which had passed the Inn, was threatened. The emperor's headquarters were at Donawerth, and from thence he addressed to his soldiers one of those energetic and concise proclamations, which made them perform so many prodigies. This complication of events could not but be fatal to Europe and to France, whatever might be the results, but it afforded an opportunity favourable to the development of the emperor's genius. As his favourite poet, Ossian, loved best to tune his lyre to the noise of the roaring tempest, Napoleon, in like manner, required political tempests and opposing elements to display his wonderful abilities.

During the campaign of 1809, and more especially at its commencement, Napoleon's course was even more rapid than it had been in the campaign of 1805. Every courier who arrived at Hamburg brought us news of further prodigies. As soon as the emperor was informed of the attack made by the Austrians upon Bavaria, orders were despatched to all the generals having troops under their command to proceed with the utmost expedition to the theatre of war. The Prince of Pontecorvo was summoned to the grand army with the Saxon troops under his command, and temporarily resigned the government of the Hanse Towns.

It required all the promptitude of the emperor's march upon Vienna to defeat the conspiracies which were formed against his government ; for, in the event of his arms being unsuccessful, the blow was ready to be struck. England had entertained the project of an expedition in the north of Germany, and her forces there already amounted to about 10,000 men. The Archduke Charles

had formed the plan of concentrating in the middle of Germany a large body of troops, consisting of the corps of General Am Eude, of General Radizwowitz, and of the English, with whom were to be joined the people who were expected to rise on their approach. But all the attempts and contrivances of England on the continent were fruitless, for with the emperor's new system of war, which consisted in making a push on the capital, he soon obtained negotiations for peace. He was master of Vienna before England had even organized the expedition to which I have just alluded. He left Paris on the 11th of April, was at Donawerth on the 17th, and on the 23rd he was master of Ratisbonne. In the engagement which preceded his entrance into that town, Napoleon was wounded in the heel. The injury, however, was too slight to cause him to leave the field of battle for a moment. Between Donawerth and Ratisbonne also was effected that bold and skilful manœuvre by which Davoust gained and merited the title of Prince of Eckmühl.

At this period it seemed as if Fortune was so allied to Napoleon's arms that she took pleasure even in realizing his boasting predictions ; for, within a month after his proclamation to that effect, the French troops did really make their entry into the Austrian capital.

Rapp, who during the campaign of Vienna had resumed his duties as aide-de-camp, related to me one of those striking remarks of Napoleon which, when his words are compared with the events that followed them, would almost appear to indicate a foresight of his future destiny. The emperor, when within a few days' march of Vienna, procured a guide to explain to him the names of every village, or ruin, however insignificant, that presented itself on his road. The guide pointed to an eminence, on which were still visible a few remaining vestiges of an old fortified castle. "Those," said the guide, "are the ruins of the castle of Diernstein." Napoleon suddenly stopped, and remained for

some time silently contemplating the ruins, then turning to Marshal Lannes, who was with him, he said, " See ! yonder is the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion. He, too, like us, went to Syria and Palestine. But Cœur de Lion, my brave Lannes, was not more brave than you. He was more fortunate than I at St. Jean d'Acre. A duke of Austria sold him to an emperor of Germany, who shut him up in yonder castle. Those were the days of barbarism. How different the civilization of our own times ! The world has seen how I treated the Emperor of Austria, whom I might have imprisoned—and I would treat him so again. I take no credit to myself for this. In the present age crowned heads must be respected. A conqueror imprisoned ! "

A few days after the emperor was at the gates of Vienna, but on this occasion his access to that capital was not so easy as it had been rendered in 1805, by the ingenious bravado of Lannes. The Archduke Maximilian, who was shut up in the capital, wished to defend it, although the French army already occupied the principal suburbs. In vain were flags of truce sent one after the other to the archduke. They were not only sent back unheard, but were even ill-treated, and one of them was almost killed by the populace. The city was then bombarded, and was fast becoming a prey to the flames, when the emperor, hearing that one of the archduchesses remained in Vienna, on account of ill-health, ordered the firing to cease. Singularly capricious were the events of Napoleon's destiny—this archduchess was no other than Maria Louisa ! Vienna at length opened her gates to Napoleon, who, for some days, took up his residence at Schoenbrunn. He lost no time in addressing the following proclamation to his troops :—

" SOLDIERS,

" One month after the enemy passed the Inn, on the same day, and at the same hour, we have entered Vienna ! Her *landwehres*, her levies in mass, her ram-

parts, created by the impotent fury of the princes of the house of Lorraine, have vanished at your approach. The princes of that house have abandoned their capital, not like honourable warriors yielding to the circumstances of war, but like perjurers, pursued by their own remorse. In flying from Vienna, their farewell to its inhabitants was murder and conflagration. Like Medea, they have, with their own hands, massacred their children."

Who would have believed that, after the manner in which Napoleon had spoken of the Emperor of Austria in this proclamation, he would finish the campaign with a proposal to marry his daughter? I had always been of opinion that this propensity of Bonaparte to abuse his enemies in these public addresses was, to say the least of it, impolitic, and by no means added to his reputation. And if it be remarked that I am at pains to present Napoleon's proclamations to the reader, and say nothing with regard to his bulletins, the reason is this—his proclamations were founded on truth, almost to their prophecies, which, however, were not always realized like that of his entrance into Vienna. Their groundwork was the great historical events which had taken place before the eyes of the army to which they were addressed; while his bulletins, which were intended to impose on the people of the interior of France and foreign countries, too fully justified the proverb, "to lie like a bulletin."

CHAPTER XXV.

FIVE days after the bombardment of Vienna, namely, on the 17th of May, the emperor published a decree, by virtue of which the States of the Pope were united to the French empire, and Rome was declared an imperial city. The States of the Church had already been dismembered for the sake of enlarging the three Italian departments ; but the Holy See was now entirely erased from the list of temporal powers. I shall not now stop to inquire how far such a measure was politic, or otherwise ; but it certainly was a mean usurpation on the part of Napoleon, for the time had long passed when a Julius the Second laid down the keys of St. Peter to take up the sword of St. Paul. It was, besides, an injustice, and after the condescension of the Pope towards Napoleon, an act of the blackest ingratitude. The decree of union did not deprive the Pope of his residence ; but he was now nothing more than the first Bishop of Christendom, with a revenue of two millions. The virtues of this persecuted old man, however, inspired universal respect, and even Protestants were loud in their condemnation of Napoleon's scandalous behaviour to Pius VII.

Napoleon, while at Vienna, heard of the affair of Talavera de la Reyna. I was informed by a letter from headquarters that he was very much affected by the news, and did not conceal the chagrin it caused him. I verily believe that he had determined on the conquest of Spain precisely on account of the difficulties it presented. At Talavera commenced the European reputa-

tion of a man who, perhaps, would not have been without some glory, even had less pains been taken to build him up a fabric of renown. In that battle commenced the career of Sir Arthur Wellesley,* whose victories have since been attended with such important consequences. Whilst we experienced this check in Spain, the English were attempting an expedition against Holland, where they had already made themselves masters of the island of Walcheren. It is true, they were obliged to evacuate it shortly afterwards, but as, at that time, the French and Austrian armies were in a state of inaction, in consequence of an armistice concluded at Znaim in Moravia, the news unfavourable to Napoleon raised the hopes of the Austrian negotiators, who held back in the expectation that fresh defeats would afford them better chances. These delays were borne with much impatience by the emperor, who longed for the opportunity of directing his whole strength against Spain and England, the only two enemies that would remain after peace had been concluded with Austria.

It was during the course of these negotiations, the termination of which seemed every day to be further distant, that Napoleon was exposed to a more real danger than the wound he had received at Ratisbonne. Germany was in a state of distress difficult to describe; her sufferings were aggravated by the presence of numerous French troops, whose support, whatever discipline might be enforced by their chiefs, was not the less burdensome and oppressive. Illuminism, too, was making great progress, and had filled some youthful minds with an enthusiasm equal to that religious fanati-

* We can scarcely expect a Frenchman to do complete justice to Wellington, but the above comment is certainly exquisite concerning one who beat nearly all Napoleon's best marshals in the Peninsula, and ended his military career by foiling, with a far inferior force as to quality, all Napoleon's efforts for many hours at Waterloo. It is, moreover, rather ungrateful of Bourrienne to sneer at the man who did far more than any other single personage to bring about the return of the Bourbons, of whom Bourrienne became so devoted an adherent, and to whom he owed office and pay.

cism to which Henry IV. fell a victim. A young man, named Staps, formed the design of assassinating Napoleon, in order to rid Germany of one whom he considered her scourge. Rapp and Berthier were with the emperor when the assassin was arrested ; and I feel assured that, in repeating exactly their statement to myself, I am giving the most faithful account of all the circumstances connected with that event.—“ We were at Schoenbrunn,” said Rapp, “ when the emperor had just reviewed the troops. I had before observed a young man at the extremity of one of the columns, when, just as the troops were about to defile, I perceived him advancing towards the emperor, who was then between Berthier and myself. The Prince de Neufchatel, supposing he had a petition to present, went forward to tell him that I was the person to receive it, being the aide-de-camp for the day. The young man replied that he wished to speak to Napoleon himself, and Berthier again told him he must apply to me. He then withdrew a little, still repeating that he wished to speak to Napoleon. He again advanced, and came very near the emperor. I ordered him to fall back, telling him in German to wait till after the parade, when, if he had any petition to make, he would be attended to. I surveyed him attentively, for the importunity of his behaviour began to make me suspect him. I remarked that he kept his right hand in the breast-pocket of his coat, out of which appeared one end of a roll of paper. I know not how it was, but, at that moment, our eyes meeting, I was struck with a certain expression in his look and air, which seemed to imply some fixed and unalterable determination. Perceiving an officer of gendarmerie on the spot, I desired him to seize the young man, and without any unnecessary severity, to convey him to the castle until the parade was over. All this passed in less time than I have taken in relating it, and at this moment the attention of everyone being fixed on the parade, the scene passed unnoticed. Shortly after, I

was told that a large carving-knife had been found concealed about the person of the young man ; and going immediately to find Duroc, I proceeded with him to the apartment to which Staps had been taken. We found him sitting on a bed, seemingly in deep thought, but exhibiting not the least appearance of alarm. Near him was the portrait of a young female, his pocket-book and purse, in which were two gold pieces, if I remember right, old French louis d'ors. I asked him his name, but he replied he would tell it to no one but Napoleon ; I next inquired what he intended to do with the knife found upon him. His answer was the same as before — 'I shall tell no one but Napoleon.' 'Did you intend to attempt his life ?' 'Yes.' 'Why ?' 'I cannot tell anyone but Napoleon.'

"This circumstance altogether appeared so strange to me, that I thought it right the emperor should be informed of it. When I told him what had taken place, he appeared somewhat disconcerted, for you know," said Rapp, "how much he was haunted by the idea of assassination. He desired that the young man should be taken into his cabinet, but this order was given to me in a tone that neither you nor myself ever heard before ; he passed his right hand several times along his forehead, and fixed a scrutinizing look on all present. Two gendarmes conducted Staps into the presence of Napoleon. In spite of his criminal intention, there was something so prepossessing in the countenance of the unhappy youth, that it was impossible not to feel interested in his fate. I wished that he would deny the intention, but how was it possible to save a man who was determined to sacrifice himself ? The emperor asked the prisoner if he could speak French ? to which he replied, he had but a slight knowledge of it ; and as you know," continued Rapp, "that next to yourself, I am the best German scholar in Napoleon's court, I was ordered to act as interpreter on the occasion. I may add, that such was Napoleon's anxiety to be made

acquainted with the prisoner's answers, that I took no part in the following dialogue, except as the mouth-piece of the emperor, in translating his questions and their several replies.

"The emperor began—'Where do you come from?' 'From Narremburg.' 'What is your father?' 'A Protestant minister.' 'How old are you?' 'Eighteen.' 'What did you intend to do with your knife?' 'To kill you.' 'You are mad, young man; you are one of the illuminati.' 'I am not mad, nor do I know what is meant by the illuminati.' 'You are ill, then?' 'I am not ill, I am very well.' 'Why did you wish to kill me?' 'Because you have ruined my country.' 'Have I done you any harm?' 'The same harm as all other Germans.' 'Is this the first time you have seen me?' 'I saw you at Erfurt, at the time of your interview with the Emperor of Russia.' 'Did you intend to kill me then?' 'No, I thought you would not again wage war against Germany. I was one of your greatest admirers. I came to Schoenbrunn, a week ago, with the intention of killing you, but the parade was just over on my arrival. I therefore deferred the execution of my design till to-day.' 'I tell you, young man, you are either mad or in ill-health.'

"At this point of the examination, the emperor ordered Corvisart to be sent for. Staps asked who Corvisart was. I told him he was a physician, upon which he replied, 'I have no need of him.' No further conversation ensued until the arrival of the doctor, and during this interval Staps evinced the utmost indifference. As soon as Corvisart arrived, Napoleon directed him to feel the young man's pulse, which he immediately did, and Staps then very coolly said, 'Is it not true, sir, that I am quite well?' 'The gentleman is in perfect health,' said Corvisart to the emperor. 'I told you so,' exclaimed Staps, pronouncing the words with a sort of exultation.

"I was really astonished at the coolness and stoicism

of Staps, and the emperor himself seemed for a moment utterly confounded by the young man's behaviour. He, at length, ordered the prisoner to be removed, and when he was gone, observed, 'This is the effect of fine principles; they convert young men into assassins.'

"This event, in spite of all endeavours to keep it secret, became the subject of conversation in the castle of Schoenbrunn. One evening the emperor sent for me, and said, 'Rapp, I cannot get this wretched Staps out of my head. The more I think of the subject, the more I am perplexed. I can never believe that a young man of his age, a German, one who has received a good education, a Protestant too, could have conceived and attempted such a crime. The Italians are said to be a nation of assassins, but no Italian ever attempted my life. The thing is really beyond my comprehension. Inquire in what manner he met his fate, and let me know.'

"I obtained from General Lauer the information which the emperor desired. I learned that Staps, whose rash attempt was made on the 23rd of October, was executed at seven o'clock in the morning of the 27th, having refused to take any sustenance since the 24th. Whenever food was offered to him, he rejected it, saying, 'I am quite strong enough to walk to the scaffold.' On being told that peace was concluded, he evinced the utmost sorrow, and was seized with a universal tremor. When at the place of execution, he exclaimed with a loud voice, 'Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!' and these were his last words."

It is well known that, after the battle of Wagram, conferences were opened at Raab. Although peace was almost absolutely necessary for both powers, and the two emperors appeared equally anxious for it, still the treaty was not concluded. The Austrian commissioner had consented to all the most important conditions, but, what is worthy of remark, delays were still occasioned by Bonaparte. In fact, he was not sincerely desirous for

the conclusion of a treaty which should affix any limit to his conquests, or the aggrandizement of his power. Negotiations were therefore suspended; and M. de Champagny had ceased for several days to see the Prince of Lichtenstein, when the affair of Staps took place. Immediately after Napoleon's examination of the young fanatic, he sent for M. de Champagny. "How are the negotiations going on?" he inquired. The minister having informed him, the emperor added, "I wish them to be resumed immediately; I wish for peace: do not hesitate about a few millions more or less in the indemnity demanded from Austria. Yield on that point; I wish to come to a conclusion. I leave it all to you." The promptness with which the emperor's orders were executed on this occasion gave him no opportunity to recall them. The minister wrote immediately to the Prince of Lichtenstein; and on the same night, the two negotiators having met at Raab, the clauses of the treaty which had been suspended were at once discussed, agreed upon, and signed. The next morning M. de Champagny attended the emperor's levee with the treaty of peace as it had been agreed on. Napoleon, after hastily glancing over it, expressed his approbation of every particular, and highly complimented his minister on the quickness with which his wishes had been attended to, and the treaty concluded. By this act, known by the name of the treaty of Schoenbrunn, the ancient edifice of the empire of Germany was overthrown, and Francis II. became Francis I., Emperor of Austria. He, however, could not say, like his namesake of France, "*Tout est perdu hors l'honneur*," "All is lost but honour," for honour had been somewhat compromised to avoid losing all. Still, however, Austria was compelled to make very heavy sacrifices. The territories ceded to France were immediately united into a new general government, under the collective denomination of the Illyrian provinces. Napoleon thus became master of both shores of the Adriatic, under

his twofold title of Emperor of France and King of Italy. Austria, thus crippled in her external commerce, had no longer any direct communication with the sea. The loss of Fiume, Trieste, and the sea-coast appeared so great a sacrifice that I had no confidence in the duration of a peace so dearly purchased. The idea that Staps might have imitators among his countrymen probably induced Napoleon to hurry away from Schoenbrunn, for he set off before he had ratified the preliminaries of the peace, announcing that he would ratify them at Munich. He proceeded in great haste to Nymphenburg, where the court of Bavaria was awaiting his arrival. He next visited the King of Wirtemberg, whom he declared to be the cleverest sovereign in Europe; and at the end of October he arrived at Fontainebleau. From thence he proceeded on horseback to Paris, riding with such rapidity that only a single chasseur of his escort could keep up with him, and attended by this one guard he entered the court of the Tuileries.

CHAPTER XXVI.

IT was during Napoleon's stay at Fontainebleau, before his return to Paris, that Josephine for the first time heard any mention of her divorce, the idea of which had occurred to the emperor's mind while he was at Schoenbrunn. At Fontainebleau, likewise, Napoleon appointed M. de Montalivet Minister of the Interior—a choice which gave universal satisfaction. The letters which we received from Paris at this period were continually dwelling on the brilliant state of the capital during the winter of 1809, and especially on the splendour of the imperial court, where the emperor's levees were attended by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg, all eager to evince their gratitude to the hero who had raised them to the rank of sovereigns.

I was the first person in Hamburg that received intelligence of Napoleon's projected marriage with the Archduchess Maria-Louisa. The news was brought to me from Vienna by two estafettes. How wonderful were the fortunes of this man! Who could have supposed, on that day when I accompanied Bonaparte to my brother's, with whom he left his watch as a deposit for a little silver, that he was destined to marry an Austrian archduchess? It is impossible to give any idea of the effect produced by the anticipation of this event in the north of Germany. From all parts the merchants received orders to buy Austrian stock, which immediately experienced an extraordinary rise. The marriage was hailed with the most enthusiastic joy; it was looked upon as the guarantee of a lasting peace,

and the hope was entertained that the repose of the continent would no more be disturbed by the rivalry of France and Austria. My extensive correspondence led me to believe that these sentiments were shared by the people of the interior of France, and the different countries of Europe. For my own part, in spite of the presentiment I had always had of the return of the Bourbons to France, I confess I now began to think that event problematical, or at least very remote.

About the beginning of the year 1810 commenced the differences between Napoleon and his brother Louis, which terminated in a complete rupture. Holland could not exist without commerce, and this Napoleon interdicted. His object was to make himself master of the navigation of the Scheldt, which Louis wished should remain free, and hence ensued the union of Holland with the French empire. Holland was the first province of the grand empire which Napoleon took the new empress to visit. Their journey took place almost immediately after the marriage ceremonies were completed. Napoleon first proceeded to Compiègne, where he remained a week. He next set out for Saint Quentin, and inspected the canal. The Empress Maria-Louisa then joined him, and they revisited Belgium in company. At Antwerp the emperor inspected all the works which he had ordered, for the execution of which he testified much anxiety. Throughout their whole progress they were received with public rejoicings, fêtes, and other popular manifestations of joy. Having visited several places in Holland, the emperor returned by way of Ostend, Lille, and Normandy, to Saint Cloud, where he arrived on the 1st of June, 1810.

At the beginning of December I received a letter from M. de Champagny, stating that the emperor wished to see me, in order to consult with me upon different matters connected with Hamburg. On my arrival at Paris, however, I did not see the emperor; but the first *Moniteur* I read contained the official report of a

senatus consultum, which united the Hanse Towns, Lauenburg, etc., to the French empire, by the right which the strong possesses over the weak. In one of my interviews with M. de Champagny, after my return to Paris, he informed me that the emperor did not wish to receive me. My situation in Paris was now extremely delicate.

The emperor's refusal to see me was an embarrassing circumstance, and I was, at first, in doubt whether I might seek an interview with Josephine. Duroc, however, having assured me that Napoleon would not object to it, I wrote, requesting permission to wait upon her. I received an answer the same day, and, on the morrow, I went to Malmaison. I was ushered into a small drawing-room in the form of a tent, where I found Josephine and Hortense. On my entrance, Josephine stretched out her hand to me, exclaiming, "Ah! my friend."—These words she pronounced with deep emotion, and tears prevented her from continuing. She threw herself on the ottoman, on the left of the fireplace, and beckoned me to be seated near her. Hortense was standing by the fireplace, endeavouring to conceal her tears. Josephine took my hand, which she pressed in both her own. It was some time before she could sufficiently command her feelings, and her tears still flowed as she said, "My dear Bourrienne, I have drained my cup of misfortune. He has cast me off! forsaken me. He conferred upon me the vain title of empress, only to render my fall the more marked. Ah! we judged him rightly. I did not deceive myself as to the destiny that awaited me, for what would he not sacrifice to his ambition?" At this moment one of the ladies of Queen Hortense entered with a message to her mistress, who remained a minute or two, apparently to recover herself from her emotion, and then withdrew. I was thus left alone with Josephine, an opportunity not displeasing to us. She seemed to wish for the relief of disclosing her sorrows, which I was equally desirous

to hear from her own lips ; women have such a charming way of relating their troubles.

Josephine told me much of what I had previously learned from my friend Duroc ; then, coming to the period when Bonaparte had declared to her the necessity of a separation, " My dear Bourrienne," she said, " during all the years you were with us, you know you possessed my entire confidence—to you I often expressed my sad forebodings. Cruelly, indeed, are they now fulfilled ; I have finished my character of wife—I have suffered all—I am resigned !" After a short pause, she continued, " What fortitude did it require latterly, when, though no longer his wife, I was obliged to appear so in the eyes of the world ! What looks do courtiers bend upon a repudiated wife ! I was in a state of vague uncertainty, worse than death, until the fatal day, when he at length avowed to me what I had long before read in his looks. It was the 30th of November, 1809 ; well do I remember the sinister expression of his countenance on that day ; we were dining together as usual, and during that sorrowful repast I had not uttered a word, and he had only broken silence to ask one of the servants what it was o'clock. As soon as Bonaparte had taken his coffee he dismissed all his attendants, and I remained alone with him. His features sufficiently marked what was passing in his mind, and I knew that my hour was come. Coming close to me, he took my hand, pressed it to his heart, and, after gazing at me for a few moments in silence, he uttered these fatal words, ' Josephine, my dear Josephine ! you know I have loved you : to you alone do I owe the only moments of happiness I have tasted in this world. But, Josephine, my destiny is superior to my will ; my dearest affections must give way to the interests of France.' ' Say no more ! ' I exclaimed. ' I understand you ; I expected this, but the blow is not the less severe.' I had not power to say more," continued Josephine. " I know not what took place

after ; strength and reason at once forsook me, and when I recovered, I found myself in my chamber. Your friend, Corvisart, and my poor daughter were with me. Bonaparte came to see me in the evening, and oh ! Bourrienne, how can I give you an idea of what I then felt ! even the interest he appeared to feel for my situation seemed an additional cruelty. Alas ! I had good reason to fear ever becoming an empress."

I was at a loss what consolation to offer to Josephine ; and knowing as I did the natural gaiety of her character, I should have been surprised to find her grief so acute after the lapse of a year, did I not also know that there are certain chords in a woman's heart which, when struck, are long ere they cease to vibrate. A divorce may be submitted to, but scarcely pardoned ; and wounded self-love is a lasting passion. I sincerely pitied Josephine, and among other things which I said to assuage her sorrow, the one which appeared to afford her the most sensible consolation was, that public opinion was decidedly opposed to Bonaparte's divorce. On this point I said nothing but the truth, for Josephine was generally beloved.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE commencement of the year 1811 was sufficiently favourable to the French arms in Spain; but towards the beginning of March, fortune changed sides. The Duke of Belluno, notwithstanding the valour of his troops, was defeated at Chiclana; and from that day the French army was unable to stand its ground against the combined forces of England and Portugal. Even Massena, notwithstanding the title of Prince of Esslingen, which he had won under the walls of Vienna in the last battle, was no longer the favoured child of fortune, as he had been at Zurich. The combined English and Portuguese forces were daily augmenting, whilst ours still decreased. England considered no sacrifice too great to secure success in the important struggle in which she was engaged; and as her money was lavished profusely, her troops paid well wherever they went, and were abundantly supplied with ammunition and provisions. The French, on the other hand, were far from possessing the same ample means, and yet, in order to prevent the natives taking part with the English, we were constrained to imitate their lavish expenditure. But even this did not prevent numerous partial insurrections in many places, which rendered all communication with France extremely difficult. Armed bands continually carried off our dispersed soldiers, and the presence of the British troops, supported by the money they spent, excited the inhabitants against us; for it cannot be supposed that, unaided by the English, Portugal could have held out for a moment against France. But battles, bad weather, and privations of

every kind, had so weakened the French army that it absolutely stood in need of repose ; at the same time its enterprises could lead to no results. In this state of things Massena was recalled, because his health was so materially injured that it was impossible he could exert sufficient activity to restore the army to a respectable footing.

Under these circumstances, Napoleon sent Bertrand into Illyria to supersede Marmont, who was ordered in his turn to relieve Massena in Portugal. Marmont, on succeeding to the command, found the troops in a deplorable state. The difficulty of procuring provisions was extreme, and the means he was compelled to employ for that purpose only aggravated the evil ; at the same time insubordination and want of discipline had arrived at such a pitch that it would be as difficult as painful to depict the situation of our army at this period. Marmont, by his firmness and conduct, happily succeeded in bringing about a better state of things, and soon found himself at the head of a well-organized army amounting to 30,000 infantry, with forty pieces of artillery ; but he could only collect a very small body of cavalry, and even those ill-mounted.

The aspect of affairs in Spain at the commencement of 1811 was very similar to what was taking place in Portugal. At first a continued series of victories, but those very victories so dearly purchased, that the ultimate issue of the struggle might easily have been foreseen ; because, when a people are fighting for their liberties and their homes, their assailants must gradually diminish ; while, at the same time, the armed population, emboldened by success, increases in a still more perceptible progression. A regiment cut off cannot immediately be supplied, whilst the burning of a single village amongst a spirited people sets a whole province in arms. Besides, insurrection was now considered by Spaniards a holy and sacred duty, to which the recent meetings of the Cortes in the Isle of Leon had given, as

it were, a legitimate character, since Spain found again, in the remembrance of her ancient privileges, at least the shadow of a government—a centre around which the defenders of the soil of the Peninsula might rally.

When, at the commencement of 1811, I left Paris, I had ceased to delude myself respecting the brilliant career which seemed opening upon me during the consulate. I clearly perceived, that since Bonaparte, instead of receiving me as I expected, refused to see me, the calumnies of my enemies had succeeded, and that I had nothing to hope from a despotic master whose past injustice did but render him the more unjust. He now possessed what he had so long and ardently desired—a son of his own, the heir to his name, his power, and his throne. The birth of the son of Napoleon was hailed with universal enthusiasm; never did a child come into the world encircled with such a diadem of glory. The emperor's power, indeed, was at its height from the period of the birth of his son until his first reverse at Moscow. The empire, including the states possessed by the imperial family, comprised nearly fifty-seven millions of inhabitants; but the moment was now fast approaching when this power, unequalled in modern times, was to crumble and fall under its own weight.

During the summer of the year 1811 no important engagement took place in Spain; victory and defeat succeeded each other, blood flowed in torrents, but nothing decisive was effected. Some brilliant events, it is true, attested the courage of our troops and the skill of our generals: the battle of Albufera, for instance, and the taking of Tarragona by Suchet, while Wellington was obliged to raise the siege of Badajoz. These advantages, productive of nothing but glory, still served, however, to keep up Napoleon's hope of triumphing in the Peninsula, and permitted him to enjoy the brilliant fêtes which took place in Paris in celebration of the birth of the King of Rome.

On his return from a tour in Holland, at the end of October, Napoleon clearly perceived that a speedy rupture with Russia was inevitable. In vain he sent Lauriston as ambassador to St. Petersburg in the place of Caulincourt, who would no longer remain there ; the most skilful diplomatist that ever existed could effect nothing with a powerful government whose determination was already fixed. All the cabinets of Europe were now unanimous in wishing for the overthrow of Napoleon's power, and the people were no less anxious for an order of things less destructive to their trade and industry. In the state to which Europe was reduced no one could effectually counteract the wish of Russia and her allies to go to war with France—Lauriston no more than Caulincourt.

The impending war, for which Napoleon was now obliged to prepare, compelled him to neglect Spain, and to leave affairs in that country in a state of real danger. In fact, Napoleon's occupation of Spain and his well-known wish to maintain himself there, were additional motives for inducing the powers of Europe to enter upon a war which would necessarily cause a diversion of his forces. All at once the troops which were in Italy and the north of Germany moved towards the frontiers of the Russian empire. In March, 1811, the emperor had nearly all the military forces of Europe at his command. One now reflects with astonishment at this union of nations, differing in manners, language, religion, and interests, but all ready to fight for one man, against a power that had never injured them. Prussia herself, though she could never pardon the wrongs he had inflicted upon her, joined his alliance, with the obvious intention of breaking it on the first opportunity.

The gigantic enterprise being now resolved on, preparations were made as if for the conquest of a world. Before his departure, Napoleon, intending to take with him the whole of his disposable troops, caused a

senatus consultum to be issued for levying the national guards, who were divided into three corps. He also arranged his diplomatic affairs, by concluding, in February, 1812, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Prussia, by virtue of which the two contracting powers mutually guaranteed the integrity of their respective possessions and the European possessions of the Ottoman Porte, because that prince was then at war with Russia. A similar treaty was concluded about the beginning of March with Austria, and about the end of the same month Napoleon renewed the capitulation of France and Switzerland.

Determined at length to extend the bounds of his empire, or rather to avenge the injuries which Russia had committed against his continental system, Napoleon, as was his custom, put all his affairs in order; his despatch and foresight on these occasions were little less than miraculous. Yet, before his departure for Germany, the inflexible determination of the Pope not to come to any arrangement occasioned him considerable anxiety. Savona did not appear to him a residence sufficiently secure for such a prisoner. He was fearful lest, when all his forces were removed towards the Niemen, the English should attempt to carry off the Pope, or that the Italians, excited by the clergy, whose dissatisfaction was general in Italy, should stir up those religious commotions which are always fatal and difficult to appease. With the view therefore of keeping the Pope still under his control, he appointed him his residence at Fontainebleau, and even at one time thought of bringing him to Paris.

Having provided for the Pope's residence, Napoleon set off for Dresden, accompanied by Maria-Louisa, who had expressed a wish to see her father.

The expected war with Russia, the most gigantic enterprise, perhaps, that the mind of man ever conceived since the conquest of India by Alexander the Great, now absorbed universal attention, and set at

naught the calculations of reason. The Manzanares was forgotten, and nothing was thought of but the Niemen, already so celebrated by the raft of Tilsit. Thither, as towards a common centre, were moving men and horses, carriages and provisions, and baggage of every description. The ambitious hopes of the generals, and the fears of the wise, were all now directed towards Russia. The war in Spain, which was becoming more and more unfortunate, excited but feeble interest, and our most distinguished officers considered it almost a disgrace to be employed in the Peninsula. In short, it required no great foresight to tell that the period was at hand when the French would be obliged to re-cross the Pyrenees. No general plan of operation was laid down for the troops who were scattered into many separate divisions, and although Joseph had returned to Madrid, he had scarcely a single general under his orders. Though the truth was concealed from the emperor on many subjects, he certainly was not deceived as to the situation of Spain in the spring of 1812. In February, the Duke of Ragusa had frankly informed him that without considerable reinforcements of men and money, no important advantages could be hoped for, since Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz had fallen into the hands of the English. The French were shortly after defeated at the battle of Salamanca, and Wellington entered Madrid.

The negotiations which Napoleon carried on with Alexander, when he yet wished to appear averse to hostilities, resembled those oratorical circumlocutions which do not, however, prevent us from coming to the conclusion we desire. The two emperors equally wished for war; the one with the view of consolidating his power, and the other in the hope of freeing himself from a yoke which had become a species of vassalage; for it was little short of it to require a power like Russia to close her ports against England, merely to favour the interests of France. At this period there were but two

European powers not tied to Napoleon's fate—Sweden and Turkey. With these powers, such near neighbours of Russia, Napoleon was anxious to form an alliance. With respect to Sweden, his efforts were vain; and though, in fact, Turkey was then at war with Russia, yet the Grand Seignior was not now, as at the time of Sebastiani's embassy, under the influence of France.

The peace which was soon concluded at Bucharest, between Russia and Turkey, increased Napoleon's embarrassment, who was far from expecting such a result. The left of the Russian army, secured by the neutrality of Turkey, was reinforced by Bagration's corps from Moldavia. This corps subsequently occupied the right of the Beresina, and thus destroyed the last hope of saving the wrecks of the French army, reduced as it then was one half. It is difficult to conceive how Turkey could have allowed the consideration of past injuries on the part of France to induce her to terminate the war with Russia, when France was attacking that power with immense forces. The Turks never had a more favourable opportunity for taking revenge of Russia, and unfortunately for Napoleon they suffered it to escape.

With the northern power Napoleon was not more successful. In vain were his overtures addressed to the prince whose fortune he had made—who was allied to his family—but with whom he had never been on terms of good understanding. The Emperor Alexander had a considerable body of troops in Finland, destined to protect that country against the Swedes—Napoleon having consented to that occupation, in order to gain the provisional consent of Alexander to the invasion of Spain. What was the course pursued by Napoleon, when, being at war with Russia, he wished to detach Sweden from her alliance with Alexander? He intimated to Bernadotte that he had a sure opportunity of retaking Finland—a conquest which would be glorious to himself, gratifying to his subjects, and the certain

means of winning their attachment to him. By this alliance Napoleon wished to force Alexander to maintain his troops in the northern part of his empire, and even to augment their numbers, in order to cover Finland and St. Petersburg. It was thus that Napoleon endeavoured to draw the prince royal into his coalition. Napoleon cared little whether Bernadotte should succeed or not. The Emperor Alexander would have been obliged to increase his force in Finland, and that was all Napoleon desired. In the gigantic struggle in which France and Russia were about to engage, the most trivial alliance was not to be neglected. But in the month of January, 1812, Davoust had invaded Swedish Pomerania, without any declaration of war, and without any apparent motive. Was this inconceivable violation of territory likely to dispose the Prince Royal of Sweden to the proffered alliance, even had that alliance not been adverse to the interests of his country ? That was impossible, and Bernadotte took the part that was expected of him. He rejected the offers of Napoleon, and prepared for coming events.

Alexander, on his side, was desirous of withdrawing his forces from Finland, in order to make a more effectual resistance to the immense army which threatened his states. Unwilling to expose Finland to an attack on the part of Sweden, he had an interview on the 28th of August, 1812, at Abo, with the prince royal, for the purpose of effecting an arrangement and a union of interests. I know that the Emperor of Russia promised Bernadotte that, happen what might, he should not be involved in the fate of the new dynasties ; that he would guarantee the possession of his throne, and that he should have Norway as a compensation for Finland. He even went so far as to hint that he might eventually supersede Napoleon. Such promises had the desired effect. Bernadotte adopted all the propositions of Alexander, and from that moment Sweden made common cause against Napoleon.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE character of Bonaparte presents many most unaccountable inconsistencies. Although the most positive man that, perhaps, ever existed, yet there never was one who more readily yielded to the charm of illusion. In many circumstances the wish and the reality were to him one and the same thing. But never did he indulge in greater illusions than at the beginning of the campaign of Moscow. The burning of their towns and villages seemed a sufficient proof that the Russians wished to allure us into the heart of their empire. It was the opinion of all sensible people, even before the commencement of those disasters which accompanied the most fatal retreat recorded in history, that the emperor ought to have passed the winter of 1812-1813 in Poland, and have resumed his vast enterprises in the spring. But his natural impatience urged him forward as it were unconsciously, and he seemed to be under the influence of an invisible demon, stronger even than his own will :—this demon was ambition. He who knew so well the value of time, never sufficiently understood its power, and how much is oftentimes gained by delay. And yet he might have learned from Cæsar's Commentaries, which were his favourite study, that Cæsar did not conquer Gaul in one campaign. Another delusion by which Napoleon was misled during the campaign of Moscow, and which past experience might render in some degree excusable, was the belief that the Emperor Alexander would propose peace, when he saw him at the head of his army on the Russian territory.

But the burning of Moscow soon convinced him that it was a war of extermination, and the conqueror, so long accustomed to receive overtures from his vanquished enemies, had now the deep mortification to see his own, for the first time, rejected. The prolonged stay of Bonaparte at Moscow cannot otherwise be accounted for than by supposing that the Russian cabinet would change its opinion and consent to treat for peace. However that may be, Napoleon, after his long and useless stay at Moscow, left that ruined city, with the design of taking up his winter quarters in Poland ; but Fate now declared against him, and in that dreadful retreat, the very elements seemed leagued with the Russians to destroy the most formidable army ever commanded by one chief. To find a catastrophe in history comparable to that of the Beresina, we must go back to the destruction of the legions of Varus.

Notwithstanding the general gloom which hung over Paris, the distresses of some, and the forebodings of others, that capital continued tranquil, when, by a singular chance, on the very day on which Napoleon evacuated the burning city of Moscow, Mallet attempted his extraordinary enterprise. This general, who had always professed republican principles, and was a man of much energy of character, after having been imprisoned for some time, obtained permission from government to live in Paris in an hospital-house, situated near the *Barrière du Trône*. This hare-brained adventurer conceived the idea of overthrowing Napoleon's empire, and establishing a popular form of government. But what power had Mallet ? what could he do to effect this ? Absolutely nothing ; and had his government continued three days, chance must have been more favourable to him than he could reasonably have expected. He affirmed that the emperor had been killed in Russia, but the first post that arrived from that country would at once confound both Mallet and his proclamations. In short, his enterprise was quite that of a madman.

The nation was much too weary of agitation to throw itself into the arms of Mallet and his associate Lahorie, who had figured so disgracefully on the trial of Moreau. Yet, in spite of the evident impossibility of success, it must be confessed that considerable ingenuity and address were employed in the commencement of this silly conspiracy.

The emperor, as I have already mentioned, left Moscow on the very day of Mallet's audacious enterprise, and was at Smolensko when he heard the news. Rapp was present when Napoleon received the despatches containing an account of what had happened in Paris. He informed me that Napoleon was greatly agitated on perusing them, and vented his anger against the inefficiency and negligence of the police. "Is it come to this, then?" said he; "is my power so insecure as to be endangered by a single individual, and he a prisoner? It would seem that my crown sits but loosely on my head, if, in my own capital, the bold stroke of three adventurers can shake it. Rapp, misfortune never comes alone; this is an appropriate finish to what is passing here. I cannot be everywhere, but I must go back to Paris; my presence there is indispensable to re-animate public opinion. I must have men and money; great successes and great victories will repair all; I must set off." Such were the motives which induced the emperor to leave his army so precipitately. It is not without indignation that I have heard that departure attributed, by some, to cowardice and fear. Napoleon a coward! they know nothing of his character who say so. Tranquil in the midst of danger, he was never more happy than on the field of battle. On leaving Moscow, Napoleon consigned the wrecks of his army to the care of his experienced generals—to Murat, who had so nobly commanded the cavalry, but who abandoned the army to return to Naples; and to Ney, the Hero rather than the Prince of the Moskowa, whose name will be immortal in the annals of glory, as his death will be eternal in the annals

of party revenge. Amidst the general disorder, Eugene, more than any other chief, maintained a sort of discipline among the Italians; and it was remarked that the troops of the south engaged in the fatal campaign of Moscow endured the rigour of the cold better even than the men who were natives of less sunny climes.

The return of Napoleon from Moscow was not like his return from the campaigns of Vienna and Tilsit, when he came back crowned with laurels, and bringing peace as the reward of his triumphs. From this period he threw off even the semblance of legality in the measures of his government; he assumed arbitrary power, imagining that the critical circumstances in which he was placed would be a sufficient excuse. But however inexplicable were the means to which the emperor had recourse to procure resources, it is but just to acknowledge that they were the natural consequence of his system of government, and that he evinced almost inconceivable activity in repairing his losses, so as to place himself in a situation to resist his enemies, and restore victory to his banners. Obedience followed his mandates; but who shall describe the distresses they occasioned throughout his vast empire? Conscriptions were enforced even after substitutes had been procured at enormous sacrifices. In one instance, no less a sum than 15,000 francs was given for a discharge from the guard of honour which was raised about this period for the protection of Napoleon's person.

But, in spite of all Napoleon's strenuous efforts, the disasters of the Russian campaign were every day more and more sensibly felt. The King of Prussia, in joining France, had played a part which betrayed his weakness, instead of openly declaring himself for the cause of Russia, which was also his own. Then took place the defection of General Yorck, who commanded the Prussian contingent to Napoleon's army in Marshal Macdonald's division. The King of Prussia, though no doubt secretly pleased with the conduct of General Yorck, had him

formally tried and condemned, and yet a short time after that sovereign commanded in person the troops which had turned against us. The defection of the Prussians produced a very ill effect. It was a signal which could leave no doubt as to the disposition of our German allies, and it was easy to perceive that this defection would be followed by others. Napoleon quickly foresaw that this event was indicative of fatal chances for the future, and in consequence assembled a privy council, consisting of the Ministers of State, and some of the grand officers of his household. M. de Talleyrand, Cambacères, and the President of the Senate were present. Napoleon asked whether, in the complicated difficulties of our situation, it would be most advisable to negotiate for peace, or to prepare for a new war? Cambacères and Talleyrand gave their opinion in favour of peace, which, however, Napoleon would never hear of after a defeat; but the Duke de Feltre, knowing how to touch the susceptible chord of Bonaparte's heart, said that he should consider the emperor dishonoured if he consented to give up the smallest village which had been united to the empire by a decree of the Senate. This opinion was adopted, and the war continued.

The powers with whom Bonaparte was most intimately allied separated from him, as he might have expected, and Austria was not the last to imitate the example set by Prussia.

Napoleon now saw clearly that since Austria had abandoned him, and refused her contingent, he should soon have all Europe in arms against him. But even this did not intimidate him. Some of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine still remained faithful to him; and his preparations being completed, he proposed to resume in person the command of the army, which had been re-produced as it were by miracle. Before his departure, Napoleon appointed the Empress Maria-Louisa as regent, with a council of regency to assist her.

A long time before Napoleon left Paris to join his army, the bulk of which was in Saxony, partial insurrections had occurred in many places. The intelligence of the march of the Russian and Prussian troops, who were descending the Elbe, increased the agitation which prevailed in Westphalia, Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania. Advantage was everywhere taken of our reverses, and, in consequence, all the French troops cantoned between Berlin and Hamburg, including those who occupied the shores of the Baltic, fell back upon Hamburg. Reports of the most exaggerated nature now announced the approach of a Russian corps. A retreat was immediately ordered, which was executed on the 12th of March. General Cara Saint-Cyr, having no money for the troops, helped himself out of the municipal chest. He left Hamburg at the head of the troops and men whom he had taken from the custom-house service. He was escorted by the town-guard, which protected him from the insults of the populace, and heartily glad were the Hamburgers to be well rid of their guests. This sudden retreat excited the indignation of Napoleon, and he accused General Saint-Cyr of pusillanimity, in an article inserted in the *Moniteur*, and afterwards copied by his order into all the journals. It would, indeed, be difficult to exculpate Saint-Cyr in the eyes of impartial observers, for had he been better informed, and less easily alarmed, he might have kept Hamburg, and prevented its temporary occupation by the enemy, to dislodge whom it was necessary two months afterwards to lay siege to the city. The whole blame of this transaction was cast upon General Saint-Cyr, who, in fact, was betrayed by his perfidious and cowardly advisers.

Fifteen leagues east of Hamburg, but included within its territory, is a village called Bergdorff. It was in that village that the Cossacks were first seen. Twelve or fifteen hundred of them arrived under the command of Colonel Tettenborn, who was detached from the main

body of the Russian army, then about thirty leagues distant. Had it not been for the retreat of the French troops, amounting to 3,000, exclusive of men in the custom-house service, no attempt would have been made upon Hamburg; but the very name of the Cossacks inspired a degree of terror which everybody must well remember.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th of March, a picket of Cossacks, consisting of only forty men, took possession of a town recently flourishing, with a population of 120,000, but now ruined and reduced to 80,000 inhabitants, by the blessing of its union with the French empire. On the following day, the 18th, Colonel Tettenborn entered Hamburg at the head of 1,000 Cossack regulars.

It was not until the expiration of three or four days that the small number of the allied troops was noticed, and even that number gradually diminished. On the day after the arrival of the Cossacks, a detachment was directed upon Lubeck, where they were received with the same honours as at Hamburg. Other detachments were sent to various places, and, after four days' occupation, there remained in Hamburg only seventy out of 1,200 Cossacks, 200 irregulars included, who had entered on the 18th of March. The first care of their commander was to take possession of the post-office, and the treasuries of the different public offices. All the movable effects of the French government and its agents were seized and sold; and the officers laid their hands on whatever private property they could reach, after the true Cossack fashion.

The restored Senate of Hamburg was but of short duration. It was soon discovered that the popular manifestation of hatred to the French government was somewhat premature, and the people of the Hanse Towns learned with no small alarm that the emperor was making immense preparations to fall upon Germany, where his lieutenants would not fail to take cruel re-

venge on such as had disavowed his authority. Before he quitted Paris, on the 15th of April, Napoleon had enrolled under his banners 180,000 men, exclusive of the guard of honour ; and with such forces, and such ability to direct them, it was certain that he might venture on a great game—and possibly win it too.

The French having advanced as far as Haarbùrg took up their position on the Schwartzenberg, which commands that little town, as well as the river itself, and the considerable islands situated in that part of it between Haarbùrg and Hamburg. Being masters of this elevated point, they began to threaten Hamburg, and to attack Haarbùrg.

Davoust was at Haarbùrg with 40,000 men, when it was agreed that the town should be surrendered ; and the French consequently made their entrance on the evening of the 30th of May, occupying the posts as quietly as if they had been merely changing guard.

On the 18th of June was published an imperial decree, dated the 8th of the same month. To expiate the crime of rebellion, an extraordinary contribution of 48,000,000 of francs was imposed upon Hamburg, and Lubeck was required to contribute 6,000,000. This enormous sum, levied on the already ruined city of Hamburg, was to be paid in the short space of a month, by six equal instalments, either in money, or bills on respectable houses in Paris. In case of default, or delay of payment, the whole movable and immovable effects of the inhabitants were to be sold. In addition to this, the new prefect of Hamburg made a requisition of grain and provisions of every kind, wines, sailcloth, masts, pitch, hemp, iron, copper, steel—in short, everything that could be useful for the supply of the army and navy.

On the 2nd of May Napoleon won the battle of Lutzen. A week afterwards he was at Dresden, where he stayed only ten days, and then went in pursuit of the Russian army, which he came up with on the 19th at Bautzen. This battle, which was followed on the two succeeding

days by those of Wurtchen and Ochkirchen, may thus be said to have lasted three days, a sufficient proof that it was obstinately disputed. It terminated at length in favour of Napoleon, though the advantage was dearly purchased both by him and France. General Kirschner, while speaking to Duroc, was killed by a cannon-ball, which also mortally wounded the latter in the abdomen.

The moment had now arrived for Austria to prove whether or not she intended altogether to betray the cause of Napoleon. All her amicable demonstrations were limited to an offer of her intervention in opening negotiations with Russia. Accordingly, on the 4th of June, an armistice was concluded at Plesswitz, which was to last till the 8th of July, and was finally prolonged to the 10th of August.

The first overtures, after the conclusion of the armistice of Plesswitz, determined the assembling of a congress at Prague. It was reported at the time that the allies demanded the restoration of all they had lost since 1805, that is to say, since the campaign of Ulm. In this demand were comprehended Holland and the Hanse Towns, which had become French provinces. But even then we should have retained the Rhine, Belgium, Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy. This proposition, reasonable as it appeared, was nevertheless impracticable, for it depended on a man who would never consent to go back to such a state of things. The battle of Vittoria, which placed the whole of Spain at the disposal of the English, the retreat of Suchet upon the Ebro, and the fear of seeing the army of Spain annihilated, were enough to alter the opinions of those counsellors who, never hazarding their own persons on the field of battle, still advised a continuance of the war. At this juncture General Moreau arrived, at Bernadotte's solicitation, it has been said. But that is neither true nor probable. Moreau was influenced by the desire of being revenged on Napoleon, and he found death where he could not find glory.

CHAPTER XXIX.

AT the end of July the proceedings of the congress at Prague were no further advanced than on its first assembling. Far from holding out a prospect of peace to the French nation, the emperor made a journey to Mentz: the empress went there to see him, and returned to Paris immediately after the emperor's departure. The armistice not being renewed, it died a natural death on the 17th of August, the day appointed for its expiration. A fatal event immediately followed the rupture of the conferences. On the same day, Austria, willing to gain by war, as she had before gained by alliances, declared that she would join her forces to those of the allies. On the very opening of this disastrous campaign, Jomini went over to the enemy. Jomini belonged to the staff of the unfortunate Marshal Ney, who was beginning to execute with his accustomed ability the orders he had received. Public opinion has pronounced upon the conduct of Jomini, who deserted from our ranks at so critical a moment, the better as it would seem to advance his own interests.

The first actions were the battle of Dresden, which took place seven days after the rupture of the armistice, and the battle in which Vandamme was defeated, and which rendered the victory of Dresden unavailing. It was at Dresden that Moreau perished. The signal once given, and Bavaria freed from the presence of the French troops, she, too, soon raised the mask, and ranged herself among our enemies. In October was fought the battle of Leipsic, and its loss decided the fate of France. The

Saxon army, which had alone remained faithful to us, went over to the enemies' ranks during the engagement. In this battle, the forerunner of our misfortunes, perished Prince Poniatowski, in an attempt to pass the Elster.

When the war resumed its course, after the disaster of Leipsic, the allies determined to treat with Napoleon only in his own capital, as he, two years before, had refused to treat with the Emperor of Austria except at Vienna. That monarch now completely threw off the mask, and declared to the emperor that he would make common cause with Russia and Prussia against him. The reason he assigned for this in his manifesto was curious enough, viz., that the more enemies there were against him, the greater would be the chance of speedily obliging him to accede to conditions which would at length restore the tranquillity of which Europe stood so much in need. This declaration on the part of Austria was a matter of no trifling importance, since she had by this time raised an army of 250,000 men; the Confederation of the Rhine 150,000; in short, including the Swedes and the Dutch—English troops in Spain and in the Netherlands—the Danes, who had abandoned us—the Spaniards and Portuguese, whose courage and hopes were revived by our reverses—Napoleon had arrayed against him upwards of a million of enemies. Among them, too, were the Neapolitans, with Murat at their head!

The month of November, 1813, was fatal to the fortune of Napoleon. In all parts the French armies were repulsed and driven back upon the Rhine, while in every direction the allied forces advanced towards that river. I had long looked upon the fall of the empire as certain, not because the foreign sovereigns had resolved on its destruction, but because I saw the impossibility of Napoleon defending himself against all Europe; and because I knew that, however desperate might be his fortune, nothing would induce him to consent to conditions which he considered disgraceful. At this period every day witnessed some new defection. Even the

Bavarians, the natural allies of France—they whom the emperor had led to victory at the commencement of the second campaign of Vienna—they whom he had, as it were, adopted on the field of battle, were now against us, and distinguished themselves as the most inveterate of our enemies.

Even before the battle of Leipsic, the loss of which was followed by such ruinous consequences to Napoleon, he had felt the necessity of applying to France for a fresh levy of troops—as if France had been inexhaustible. He directed the empress-regent to make this demand, who accordingly proceeded to the Senate for the first time in great state; but the glories of the empire were now on the decline. Maria-Louisa obtained a levy of 280,000 men, who were no sooner enrolled than sacrificed to the exigencies of the war. The defection of the Bavarians considerably augmented the difficulties experienced by the wreck of the army which had been all but annihilated at Leipsic. They had preceded us to Hanau, a town four leagues distant from Frankfort; there they established themselves with the view of cutting off our retreat; but French valour was roused, the little town was soon carried, and the Bavarians repulsed with considerable loss. The French army then arrived at Mentz, if indeed the name of army can be applied to a few masses of men, destitute, dispirited, and exhausted by fatigue and privations—in a word, brutalized, as it were, by excess of misery. On their arrival at Mentz, no preparations had been made for their reception, there were no provisions or supplies of any description, and, as the climax of misfortune, contagious diseases broke out among the soldiers. I received several letters from their commanders, and all concurred in representing their situation as most dreadful.

However, without reckoning the shattered remains which escaped the disasters of Leipsic and the ravages of disease—without including the 280,000 men which, on the application of Maria-Louisa, the Senate had

granted in October—the emperor still possessed 120,000 good troops ; but they were in the rear, scattered along the Elbe, or shut up in fortresses, such as Dantzic, Hamburg, Torgau, and Spandau. Such, therefore, was the horror of our situation, that if, on the one hand, we could not resolve to abandon them, it was on the other impossible to assist them. In France, the universal cry was for peace—peace—at whatever price it was to be purchased. The levy of October was followed within a month by another of 300,000 men, and it was then only that France fully understood how deep and deadly were the wounds she had received. In this state of things, it may even be affirmed that the year 1813 was more fatal to Napoleon than the year 1812. His own activity and the sacrifices of France succeeded in repairing the disasters of Moscow—those of Leipsic were irreparable.

After the battle of Leipsic, in which France lost for the second time a formidable army, all the powers allied against Napoleon declared at Frankfort, on the 9th of November, that they would never break the bonds which united them ; that henceforth it was not merely a continental peace, but a general peace, that would be insisted on, and that any negotiation not having a general peace for its object would be rejected. The allied powers declared that France ought to be satisfied with her natural boundaries, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

According to these proposals, Germany, Italy, and Spain were to be entirely withdrawn from the dominion of France. England recognized the freedom of trade and navigation, and there appeared no reason to doubt her sincerity when she professed her willingness to make very considerable sacrifices for the promotion of the object proposed by the allies. But to these offers a fatal condition was added, namely, that the congress should meet in a town to be declared neutral, on the right bank of the Rhine, where the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent powers were to assemble—but “ the

course of the war was not to be impeded by these negotiations."

The Duke de Bassano, who was still Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied, by order of Napoleon, to the overtures made by the allies for a general congress, and stated that the emperor acceded to them, and wished Manheim to be chosen as the neutral town. We shall now see the reason why these first negotiations were attended with no result. In the month of October the allies overthrew the colossal edifice denominated the French empire. When led by victory to the banks of the Rhine, they declared their wish to abstain from conquests, explained their intentions, and manifested an unalterable resolution not to depart from them. This determination of the allies induced the French government to evince pacific intentions. Napoleon wished, by an apparent desire for peace, to justify, if I may so express myself, in the eyes of his subjects, the necessity of new sacrifices, which, according to his proclamations, he demanded only to enable him to obtain peace on as honourable conditions as possible. But the truth is, he was resolved not even to listen to the offers made at Frankfort. He always represented the limits of the Rhine as merely a compensation for the partition of Poland, and the immense aggrandizement of the English possessions in Asia. But his grand object was to gain time, and if possible to keep the allied armies on the right bank of the Rhine.

The nation was weary of its sacrifices ; the immense levies raised one after the other had converted the conscription into a sort of press. The labourers of the country and the artisans of the town were alike dragged from their employment, and the dissatisfaction of the people at the measures of government was loudly and boldly expressed. Still, however, they were willing to make one last effort could they have believed that the emperor would henceforth confine his views to France alone. Napoleon sent Caulincourt to the headquarters

of the allies, but that was merely to gain time, and to induce a belief that he was favourably disposed to peace.

The allies having learned the immense levies of troops which Napoleon was raising, and being well acquainted with the state of feeling in France, published their famous manifesto, addressed to the French people, which was profusely circulated, and which may be referred to as an important lesson to subjects who trust to the promises of governments.

The good faith with which those promises were kept may be judged of from the treaty of Paris. In the meantime, the manifesto did not a little contribute to alienate from Napoleon those who were yet faithful to his cause, for, believing in the declarations of the allies, they saw in him the sole obstacle to that peace which France so ardently desired. It was in vain, too, to levy troops—everything essential to an army was wanting. To meet the most pressing demands, the emperor drew out thirty millions from the immense treasure which he had accumulated in the cellars and galleries of the Pavillon Marsan at the Tuileries. These thirty millions, a generous sacrifice on the part of Napoleon, were soon swallowed up.

I am now arrived at the most critical period in Napoleon's career. What reflections must he have made, if he had had leisure to reflect, if he had compared the recollections of his rising glory with the melancholy picture of his falling fortune! How forcible the contrast, when we compare the famous flag of the Army of Italy, carried to the Directory by Bonaparte when flushed with youth and victory, with those drooping eagles who were now compelled to defend the aerie whence they had so often taken flight to spread their triumphant wings over Europe! How strikingly does this display the difference between liberty and absolute power! Napoleon, the child of Liberty, to whom he owed everything, had disowned his mother and was now about to fall. For

ever past were those glorious triumphs, when the people of Italy consoled themselves for defeat and submitted to the magical power of that liberty which heralded the armies of the republic. Now, on the contrary, it was to free themselves from a despot's yoke that the nations of Europe had taken up arms, and were preparing to invade the sacred soil of France.

CHAPTER XXX.

AFTER the campaign of 1812, when Eugene revisited Italy, he was promptly informed of the more than doubtful dispositions of Austria towards France. He, therefore, lost no time in organizing a force capable of defending the country which the emperor had committed to his safeguard. Napoleon was well aware of the advantage he would derive from the presence, on the northern frontiers of Italy, of an army sufficiently strong to harass Austria, in case she should draw aside the transparent veil which still covered her policy. Eugene did all that depended on him to further the emperor's intentions: but, in spite of all his efforts, the Army of Italy was, after all, only an imaginary army to those who could compare the number of men actually present with the number stated in the lists. When, in July, 1813, the viceroy was informed of the turn taken by the negotiations at the shadow of a congress assembled at Prague, he had no longer any doubt of the renewal of hostilities, and foreseeing an attack on Italy, he resolved, as speedily as possible, to approach the frontiers of Austria. By his utmost endeavours he could only assemble an army of about 45,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, consisting both of French and Italians. On the renewal of hostilities the viceroy's headquarters were at Udina. Down to the month of April, 1814, he succeeded in maintaining a formidable attitude, and in defending the entrance of his kingdom with that military talent which was to be expected in a man educated in the great school of

Napoleon, and whom the army looked up to as one of its most skilful generals.

During the great and unfortunate events of 1813, public attention had been so much engrossed with Germany and the Rhine, that the affairs of Italy seemed to possess an inferior interest, until the defection of Murat for a time diverted attention to that country. At first this fact was thought incredible by everyone, and Napoleon's indignation was extreme. Another defection about the same period deeply distressed Eugene, for though raised to the rank of a prince, and almost a sovereign, he was still a man, and an excellent man. United to the Princess Amelia of Bavaria, who was as amiable and as much beloved as himself, he had the deep regret of counting the subjects of his father-in-law among the enemies whom he would probably have to combat. Fearing lest he should be harassed by the Bavarians on the side of the Tyrol, Eugene commenced his retrograde movement in the autumn of 1813. He at first fell back on the Tagliamento, and successively on the Adige. On reaching that river, the Army of Italy was considerably diminished in spite of all Eugene's care of his troops. About the end of November, Eugene learned that a Neapolitan corps was advancing upon Upper Italy, part taking the direction of Rome and part that of Ancona. The object of the King of Naples was to take advantage of the situation of Europe, whilst, in fact, he was the dupe of the promises held out to him as the reward of his treason. Murat seemed to have adopted the deceitful policy of Austria, for not only had he determined to join the coalition, but was actually in communication with England and Austria at the very moment that he was making protestations of fidelity to Napoleon.

When first informed of Murat's treason by the viceroy, the emperor refused to believe it. "No," he exclaimed to those about him, "it cannot be. Murat—to whom I have given my sister! Murat—to whom I have given a throne! Eugene must be misinformed. It is in-

possible that Murat has declared himself against me." It was, however, not only possible, but true. Gradually throwing aside the dissimulation beneath which he had concealed his designs, Murat seemed inclined to renew the policy of Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the art of deceiving was deemed by the Italian governments the most sublime effort of genius. Without any declaration of war, he directed one of his generals, who occupied Rome with 5,000 men, to assume the supreme command in the Roman states, and to take possession of the country. General Miollis, who commanded the French troops in Rome, could only throw himself, with his handful of men, into the castle of Saint Angelo, the famous mole of Adrian, in which was long preserved the treasure of Sixtus V. ; the French general soon found himself blockaded by the Neapolitan troops, who also blockaded Civita Vecchia and Ancona.

The treaty concluded between Murat and Austria was definitely signed on the 11th of January, 1814. As soon as he was informed of it, the viceroy, certain that he would soon have to engage with the Neapolitans, was obliged to renounce the preservation of the line of the Adige, the Neapolitan army being in the rear of his right wing. He accordingly ordered a retrograde movement on the other side of the Mincio, where his army was cantoned. In this position, Prince Eugene, on the 8th of February, had to engage with the Austrians who had come up with him ; and the victory of the Mincio arrested for some time the invasion of the Austrian army, and its junction with the Neapolitan troops. It was not until eight days after that Murat officially declared war against the emperor, and immediately several general and superior officers, and a great many French troops, abandoned his service, and repaired to the headquarters of the viceroy. Murat did everything he could to detain them ; but they signified to him that, as he had declared war against France, no Frenchman who loved his country could continue in his service. The

viceroy received an official communication from Napoleon's War Minister, accompanied by an imperial decree, recalling all the French who were in the service of Joachim, and declaring that all who were taken with arms in their hands should be tried by a court-martial as traitors to their country. On the 1st of February Eugene published a proclamation, calling on all true Frenchmen to quit the service of Murat, which, indeed, most of them had already done. Murat commenced by gaining advantages which it was impossible to dispute with him. His troops almost immediately took possession of Leghorn and the citadel of Ancona, and the French were obliged to evacuate Tuscany.

I again turn to the affairs of France at the close of 1813, where the prospect was scarcely more cheering than on the other side of the Alps. The defection of Murat had destroyed one of Bonaparte's gigantic projects. This was, that Murat and Eugene, with their combined forces, should march on the rear of the allies, whilst he, disputing the soil of France with the invaders, should multiply the obstacles to their advance. The King of Naples and the Viceroy of Italy were to march upon Vienna, and make Austria tremble in the heart of her capital, before the timid million of her allies, who measured their steps as they approached Paris, should pollute by their presence the capital of France. When informed of the vast project, which, however, was but the dream of a moment, I immediately recognized that eagle glance, that power of discovering great resources in great calamities, which is the true mark of superior genius, and which was so eminently conspicuous in Napoleon.

But all his resources were now exhausted—even victory, if dearly purchased, must have proved fatal to him; whilst in France new hopes and wishes had succeeded to those bright illusions which had attended his advance to the consular power. Now was he able fully to appreciate the wisdom of that advice which Josephine gave

him—"Bonaparte, I entreat you, do not make yourself a king!" Napoleon, it is true, was still emperor; but he, who had imposed on all Europe treaties of peace, scarce less disastrous than the wars which had preceded them, could not now obtain an armistice, and Caulincourt, who was sent to treat for one at the camp of the allies, spent uselessly twenty days at Luneville, before he could obtain permission to pass the advanced posts of the invading army.

In the first fortnight of January, 1814, one-third of France was invaded, and it was proposed to form a new congress, to be held at Chatillon-sur-Seine. Napoleon's situation became daily worse and worse. He was advised to seek extraordinary resources in the interior of the empire, and was reminded of the fourteen armies which rose, as if by enchantment, to defend France at the commencement of the Revolution.

At this time the Jacobins were disposed to exert every effort to save him; but they required to have their own way, and to be allowed uninterruptedly to excite a revolutionary feeling. The press, which groaned under a most odious and intolerable censorship, was to be wholly at their command. I do not state these facts from hearsay; I happened, by chance, to be present at two conferences in which were set forward projects infected with the odour of the clubs; and these projects were supported with the more assurance, because their success was regarded as certain. And yet the ill-omened counsellors of the emperor were well aware of his hatred of a free press, and his contempt for the popular authority!

Though I had not seen Napoleon since my departure for Hamburg, yet I was sufficiently assured of his feeling towards the Jacobins, to be convinced that he would quickly turn from them with loathing and disgust. I was not wrong. Indignant at the price they demanded for their services, he exclaimed, "This is too much! In battle I shall have a chance of deliverance; but I shall have none with these furious blockheads: there

can be nothing in common between the demagogic principles of ninety-three and the monarchy ; between clubs of madmen and a regular ministry ; between revolutionary tribunals and established laws. If my fall is decreed, I will not at least bequeath France to the revolutionists from whom I have delivered her."

These were golden words ; and Napoleon thought of a more noble and truly national mode of warding off the danger which threatened him. He ordered the enrolment of the national guard of Paris, which was intrusted to the command of Marshal Moncey. The emperor could not have made a better choice ; but the staff of the national guard was a focus of hidden intrigues, in which the defence of Paris was less thought about than the means of taking advantage of Napoleon's overthrow. I was made a captain in this guard, and with the rest of the officers was summoned to the Tuileries on the 21st of January, when the emperor took leave of them, previous to his departure on the following day, to combat the invaders of his kingdom. We were introduced into the noble hall which I had so often trod whilst an inmate of the palace. Napoleon entered with the empress ; he advanced with a dignified air, leading by the hand his son, not yet three years old. It was long since I had had so near a view of him. He had grown very corpulent, and I remarked on his pale countenance an expression of melancholy and irritability. The habitual movement of the muscles of his neck was more observable and frequent than formerly. Were I to attempt it, I should but ill describe what were my feelings during the ceremony, when I again saw, under such circumstances, the friend of my youth, who had become master of Europe, and who now was on the point of sinking beneath the efforts of his enemies. There was something melancholy in this solemn and impressive ceremony. Seldom indeed have I witnessed such profound silence in so numerous an assembly. At length, Napoleon, in a voice as firm and sonorous as when he used to harangue

his troops in Italy or in Egypt, but without that air of confidence which then lighted up his features, delivered to us an address, of which the following is a part:—
 “Gentlemen, and Officers of the National Guard! I am happy to see you around me. This night, I set out to take the command of the army. On quitting the capital, I confidently leave behind me my wife, and my son, in whom so many hopes are centred. Under your faithful guard I leave all that, next to France, I hold dear. To your care they are intrusted.” I listened attentively to Napoleon’s address, and though he delivered it firmly, he either felt or feigned emotion.

Whether or not the emotion was sincere on his part, it was shared by many present; and for my own part, I confess I was deeply affected when he uttered the words, “I leave behind me my wife and my son.” At that moment my eyes were fixed on the child, and the interest with which he inspired me was equally unconnected with the splendour which surrounded and the misfortunes which seemed ready to overwhelm him. I beheld in the interesting infant, not the King of Rome, but the son of my old friend. I could not but contrast my feelings on the occasion with those which I experienced when, fourteen years ago, we came to take possession of the Tuileries.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MEANWHILE a congress was opened at Chatillon-sur-Seine, at which were assembled the Duke de Vicenza on the part of France ; Lords Aberdeen, Cathcart, and Stewart, as the representatives of England ; Count Razumowsky on the part of Russia ; Count Stadion for Austria ; and Count Humboldt for Prussia. Before the opening of the congress, the Duke de Vicenza, in conformity with the emperor's orders, demanded an armistice, which is almost invariably granted during negotiations for peace ; but it was now too late : the allies had long since determined not to listen to any such demand. Instructed by the past, they resolved to continue their military operations during the time negotiations were going on, and required, on their part, that the propositions for peace should be immediately signed. But these were not the propositions of Frankfort. The allies established as their basis the limits of the old French monarchy. They conceived themselves authorized in doing so by their success, and by their situation.

The plenipotentiaries of the allies, convinced that these renewed difficulties and demands on the part of Napoleon had no other object than to gain time, declared that the allied powers, faithful to their principles, and in conformity with their previous declarations, regarded the negotiations at Chatillon as terminated by the French government. This rupture of the conferences took place on the 19th of March, six days after the presentation of the ultimatum of the allied powers, for the signing of which only twenty-four hours were at

first allowed. The issue of these long discussions was thus left to be decided by the chances of war, not very favourable to the man who had Europe arrayed in arms against him. The successes of the allies during the conferences at Chatillon had opened to their view the road to Paris ; while Napoleon shrank from the necessity of signing his own disgrace. To this feeling alone his ruin is to be attributed, and he might have said, " Everything is lost but honour ! " His glory is immortal.

The campaign of France obliged Napoleon to adopt a system of operations quite new to him. He, who had been accustomed to attack, was now compelled to stand on his defence, so that instead of having to execute a previously concerted plan, as when in the cabinet of the Tuileries he traced out to me the field of Marengo, his movements were all now dependent on those of his numerous enemies. When the emperor arrived at Chalons-sur-Marne, the Prussian army was advancing by the road of Lorraine. He drove it back beyond Saint Dizier. Meanwhile, the grand Austro-Russian army passed the Seine and the Yonne at Montereau ; and even sent forward a corps which advanced as far as Fontainebleau. Napoleon then made a movement to the right, in order to drive back the troops which threatened to march on Paris ; and, by a curious chance, he came up with the troops in the very place where his boyish days were passed, and those wild dreams indulged, which seemed to relate but to a fabled future. What thoughts and recollections must have crowded on his mind, when he found himself an emperor and a king at the head of a still powerful army, in the chateau of the Count de Brienne, to whom he had so often paid his homage !

I think it indispensable briefly to describe Napoleon's wonderful activity from the moment of his leaving Paris to the entrance of the allies into the capital. But few successful campaigns, indeed, afforded our generals and the French army an opportunity of reaping so much

glory as they gained during this great reverse of fortune. For it is possible to triumph, and to fall with glory, though honour itself be missed. The chances of the war were not doubtful, but certainly the numerous hosts of the allies could never have counted on so long and brilliant a resistance. The theatre of the military operations soon approached so near to Paris, that the general eagerness for news from the army was readily satisfied; and upon any fresh intelligence of success on the part of the emperor, his partisans saw the enemy already driven from the French territory. Too well acquainted with the resolves and resources of the allied sovereigns, I was not for a moment led away by this delusion. Besides, events were so rapid and diversified in this war of extermination, that the guns of the Invalides announcing a victory were sometimes immediately followed by the distant rolling of artillery, denoting the enemy's near approach to the capital.

The emperor had left Paris on the 25th of January, at which time the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, were assembled at Langres. Napoleon rejoined his guard at Vitry-le-Français. On the second day after his departure he drove before him the Prussian army, which he had forced to evacuate Saint Dizier. Two days after this the battle of Brienne was fought, and on the 1st of February, between 70,000 and 80,000 French and allied troops stood face to face. On this occasion the commanders on both sides incurred great personal risks, for Napoleon had a horse killed under him, and a Cossack fell dead by the side of Marshal Blücher.

A few days after this important engagement, Napoleon entered Troyes, where he stayed but a short time, and then advanced to Champ Aubert. At this latter place was fought the battle which bears its name. The Russians were defeated, General Alsufieff was made prisoner, and 2,000 men and thirty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors. The prisoners were

sent to Paris, as a proof of the emperor's success. This battle took place on the 10th of February, and at this period it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the French army had every day to sustain a conflict, and frequently on different points. After the battle of Champ Aubert, the emperor was under such a delusion as to his situation that while supping with Berthier, Marmont, his prisoner General Alsufieff, and others, he said, "Another such a victory as this, gentlemen, and I shall be on the Vistula." Finding that no one replied, and observing by the countenances of the marshals that they did not share his hopes, "I see how it is," he added, "everyone is growing tired of war; there is no longer any enthusiasm. The sacred fire is extinct." Then, rising from table, and stepping up to General Drouet, with the marked intention of paying him a compliment, which should at the same time reflect censure on the other marshals, "General," said he, patting him on the shoulder, "is it not true that we only want a hundred men like you to ensure success?" Drouet replied, with equal presence of mind and modesty, "Rather say 100,000. Sire."

But Napoleon now began to have other subjects of inquietude besides the fate of battles. He was not ignorant that, since the beginning of February, the Duke d'Angoulême had arrived at Saint Jean de Luz, whence he had addressed a proclamation to the French armies in the name of his uncle Louis XVIII.; and he speedily heard of the arrival of the Count d'Artois at Vesoul, on the 21st of February, which place he did not leave until the 16th of March following.

Towards the close of February the allies were in retreat on several points—but their retreat was not a rout. After experiencing reverses, they fell back without disorder and retired behind the Aube, where they rallied, and obtained numerous reinforcements, which daily arrived, and soon enabled them to resume the offensive.

Still Napoleon continued to astonish Europe, leagued as it was against him. At Craonne, on the 7th of March, he destroyed Blucher's corps in a contest which was very warmly disputed, but the victory was attended with great loss to the conqueror. Marshal Victor was seriously wounded, as well as Generals Grouchy and Ferrière.

The latter days of March were but a continued series of misfortunes to Napoleon. On the 23rd, the rearguard of the French army suffered considerable loss. To hear of attacks on his rearguard must, indeed, have sounded harshly to Napoleon, whose advanced guard had so often led on his grand army to victory. Prince Schwartzemberg soon passed the Aube, and marched upon Vitry and Chalons. Napoleon, counting on the possibility of defending Paris, threw himself with the rapidity of the eagle on Schwartzemberg's rear, passing by Doulevant and Bar-sur-Aube. He pushed forward his advanced guard to Chaumont, and there saw the Austrian army make a movement which he took for a retreat—but it was no such thing. The movement was directed on Paris, while Blucher, who had again occupied Chalons-sur-Marne, marched to meet Prince Schwartzemberg; and Napoleon thinking to cut off their retreat, was himself cut off from the possibility of returning to Paris. Everything then depended on the defence of Paris, or, to speak more correctly, it was just possible, by sacrificing the capital, to lengthen out for a few days longer the existence of the shadow of the empire, now fast disappearing from the view. On the 26th was fought the battle of Fere Champenoise, where, valour giving way to numbers, Marshals Marmont and Mortier were obliged to retire upon Sezanne, after sustaining considerable loss.

It was on the 26th of March, and I beg the reader's attention to this date, that Napoleon suffered a loss which in his circumstances was quite irreparable. At the battle of Fere Champenoise, the allies captured a

convoy, consisting of nearly all the ammunition and stores we had left, a vast quantity of arms, caissons, and equipage of all kinds. The whole became the prey of the allies, who published a bulletin announcing this important capture. On that very day the empress left Paris.

Meanwhile the critical moment approached. On the 29th of March, Marshals Marmont and Mortier fell back to defend the approaches to Paris. During the night the barriers were consigned to the care of the national guard, and not a foreigner, not even one of their agents, was allowed to enter the capital.

On the 30th of March, at daybreak, the whole population of Paris was awakened by the report of cannon, and the plain of St. Denis was soon covered with allied troops, who were pouring into it from all points. The heroic valour of our troops was now unavailing against such superiority of numbers. But the allies paid dearly for their entrance into the capital. The national guard, under the command of Marshal Moncey, and the pupils of the Polytechnic school, transformed into artillerymen, behaved in a manner worthy of veteran troops. The conduct of Marmont on that day alone would be enough to immortalize him as a general. The corps he commanded was reduced to between 7,000 and 8,000 infantry, and 800 cavalry, with which, for the space of twelve hours, he maintained his ground against an army of 55,000 men, of whom it is said 14,000 were either killed, wounded, or taken. The marshal was seen everywhere in the thickest of the fight, a dozen soldiers were bayoneted at his side, and his hat was perforated by a ball. But what could be done against overwhelming numbers? In this state of things the Duke de Ragusa made known his situation to Joseph Bonaparte, who authorized him to negotiate. Joseph's answer is so important, in reference to the events which succeeded, that I think it necessary to transcribe it literally. It was as follows:—

“ If the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso can no longer hold out, they are authorized to negotiate with Prince Schwartzemberg and the Emperor of Russia, who are before them. They will fall back on the Loire.

“ JOSEPH.”

“ MONTMARTRE, March 30, 1814,
Quarter-past 12 o'clock.”

It was not until a considerable time after this formal authority that Marmont and Mortier ceased to make a vigorous resistance against the allied army, for the suspension of arms was not agreed upon until four in the afternoon, and Joseph, it is well known, did not wait for it. At a quarter past twelve, that is to say, immediately after he had addressed to Marmont the authority just alluded to, Joseph repaired to the Bois de Boulogne, to regain the Versailles road, and from thence to proceed to Rambouillet. Joseph's precipitate flight astonished only those who did not know him. I have been assured that several officers attached to his staff were by no means pleased at so sudden a retreat. Indeed, they at first imagined that it was a movement towards the bridge of Neuilly, in order to oppose the passage of the allies, but were promptly undeceived when, on gaining the outward barrier, the whole company turned off to the left towards the Bois de Boulogne.

Under these circumstances, what was to be done but to save Paris, which there was no possibility of defending two hours longer? Marmont, who signed the suspension of arms, which was followed by the capitulation of the city on the following night, deserved rather a civic crown than the unjust reproaches which have been heaped upon him. Methinks I still see the marshal, when, on the evening of the 30th of March, he returned from the field of battle to his hotel in the Rue de Paradis, where I was waiting for him, together with about twenty other persons, among whom were MM. Perregaux and Lafitte. When he entered, he was scarcely recognizable ;

he had a beard of eight days' growth, the greatcoat which covered his uniform was in tatters, and from head to foot he was blackened with gunpowder. We were considering what was best to be done, and all insisted on the necessity of signing a capitulation.

This memorable meeting, however, was attended by an unexpected incident. In the very midst of our discussions, one of the emperor's aides-de-camp arrived at Marmont's hotel. Napoleon, being informed of the advance of the allies on Paris, had marched with the utmost speed from the banks of the Marne on the road of Fontainebleau. In the evening he was in person at Froidmanteau, whence he despatched his envoy to Marshal Marmont. From the language of the aide-de-camp, it was easy to perceive that the ideas which prevailed at the imperial headquarters were very different from those entertained by the people of Paris. The officer expressed indignation at the very idea of capitulation, and announced with inconceivable confidence the approaching arrival of Napoleon in Paris, which he yet hoped to save from the occupation of the enemy. The same officer assured us with much warmth that Napoleon depended on the people rising in spite of the capitulation, and that they would unpave the streets to stone the allies on their entrance. What more he said to the same effect I do not now remember, but I ventured to dissent from the absurd idea of defence, and observed that it was madness to suppose that Paris could resist the numerous troops who were ready to enter on the following day. The greater part of the company present concurred in my opinion, and the decision of the meeting was unanimous.

The day after the capitulation of Paris, Marmont went in the evening to see the emperor at Fontainebleau. He supped with him, and Napoleon greatly praised his noble defence of Paris. After supper the marshal rejoined his corps at Essonne, and six hours after the emperor arrived there to visit the lines. On quitting

Paris, Marmont had left Colonels Fabvier and Denys to superintend the execution of the terms of the capitulation. These officers joined the emperor and the marshal as they were proceeding up the banks of the river of Essonne. They did not disguise the effect which the entrance of the allies had produced in Paris. The emperor appeared deeply mortified at the intelligence, and returned immediately to Fontainebleau, leaving the marshal at Essonne.

At daybreak, on the 31st of March, Paris presented a novel and curious spectacle. Scarcely had the French troops evacuated the capital than the most respectable quarters of the town resounded with cries of "Down with Bonaparte!" "No conscription!" "No consolidated duties!" With these cries were mingled that of "The Bourbons for ever!" though this latter cry was not repeated so frequently as the others, and in general I remarked that the people looked on and listened with comparative indifference. As I had taken a very active part in all that had happened during some preceding days, I was particularly curious to study what might be called the physiognomy of Paris. This was the second opportunity which had been afforded me for such a study, and I now saw the people applaud the fall of a man whom they had received with enthusiasm after the 18th Brumaire. The reason was the same—liberty was then hoped for, as it was hoped for again in 1814. I went out early in the morning to see the numerous groups of people who were assembled in the streets. I saw women tearing their handkerchiefs, and distributing the fragments as the emblems of the revived lily.

On the evening of the 31st of March, an important meeting of the Royalists was held in the hotel of the Count de Morfontaine, who officiated as president, when it was proposed that a deputation should be immediately sent to the Emperor Alexander, to express to him the wish of the meeting. This motion was immediately approved, and the mover was chosen as

chief of the deputation, which consisted besides of MM. Ferrand and Cæsar de Choiseul. On leaving the hotel these gentlemen met M. de Chateaubriand, who had that very day been, as it were, the precursor of the restoration, by publishing his admirable pamphlet, entitled "Bonaparte and the Bourbons." He was invited to join the deputation, to which he consented, but nothing could overcome his diffidence and induce him to speak. On arriving at the hotel, in the Rue Saint Florentine, the deputation was introduced to Count Nesselrode, to whom M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld briefly explained its object: he signified to him the wishes of the meeting, and the unanimous desire of Paris and of France. He represented the restoration of the Bourbons as the only means of securing the peace of Europe, and observed in conclusion, that as the exertions of the day must have been very fatiguing to the emperor, the deputation would not solicit the favour of being introduced, but would confidently rely on the good faith of his imperial majesty. "I have just left the emperor," replied M. Nesselrode, "and can pledge myself for his intentions. Return to the meeting, and announce to the French people that, in compliance with their wishes, so ardently expressed, his imperial majesty will use all his influence to restore the crown to the legitimate monarch; his majesty Louis XVIII. shall re-ascend the throne of France." With this happy intelligence the deputation returned to the meeting in the Rue d'Anjou.

Napoleon had become master of France by the sword, and the sword being sheathed he could plead no other right to the kingdom; for no popular institution had identified with the nation the new dynasty which he had hoped to establish. The nation admired but did not love him, for it is impossible to love what is feared – and Napoleon had done nothing to merit the affection of France.

CHAPTER XXXII.

I WAS present at all the meetings and conferences which were held at M. Talleyrand's hotel, where the Emperor Alexander had taken up his residence. Of all the individuals present at these meetings, M. de Talleyrand appeared most disposed to preserve Napoleon's government, with some restrictions on the exercise of his power. In the existing state of things it was only possible to choose one of three courses: first, to make peace with Napoleon, with proper securities against him; second, to establish a regency; and, third, to recall the Bourbons.

On the 31st of March the allied sovereigns entered Paris; and the Emperor Alexander repaired to M. de Talleyrand's hotel, where I, with others, was expecting him. When the emperor entered the drawing-room, most of the persons assembled, and particularly the Abbé de Pradt, the Abbé de Montesquieu, and General Dessolles, urgently demanded the restoration of the Bourbons.

A discussion ensued on the three possible measures which I have already mentioned, and which Alexander had himself proposed. It appeared to me that his majesty was (what is commonly termed) acting a part when, pretending to doubt the possibility of recalling the Bourbons, which he wished above all things, he asked M. de Talleyrand what means he proposed to employ for the attainment of that object? Indeed, I am persuaded that his only motive for starting obstacles was in order to hear the persons around him express

themselves in a more decided manner. Besides the French, there were present at this meeting the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzberg, M. Nesselrode, M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, and Prince Lichtenstein. During the discussion Alexander remained standing, at intervals walking up and down with some appearance of agitation; at length, addressing us in an elevated tone of voice, "Gentlemen," said he, "you know that it was not I who commenced the war; you know that Napoleon came to attack me in my dominions. But we are not drawn here by the thirst of conquest, or the desire of revenge. You have seen the precautions I have taken to preserve your capital, the wonder of the arts, from the horrors of pillage, to which the chances of war would have consigned it. Neither my allies nor myself are engaged in a war of reprisals, and I should be inconsolable if any violence had been committed on your magnificent city. I repeat, gentlemen, that we are not waging war against France, but against Napoleon, and every other enemy of French liberty. William, and you, Prince" (here the emperor turned towards the King of Prussia and Prince Schwartzberg, who represented the Emperor of Austria), "are not the sentiments I express in unison with your own?" Both signified their assent to this observation of Alexander, which his majesty several times repeated in different words. He insisted that France should be perfectly free, and that as soon as the wishes of the country were understood, he and his allies would support them, without seeking to exercise their influence in favour of any government in particular.

The Abbé de Pradt then declared, in a tone of conviction, that we were all royalists, and that the feelings of the people, both of Paris and the whole of France, were similar to our own. The Emperor Alexander, again adverting to the different governments which might be suitable to France, spoke of the maintenance of Bonaparte on the throne, the establishment of a

regency, the choice of Bernadotte, and the recall of the Bourbons. M. de Talleyrand then spoke, and I well remember his saying to the Emperor of Russia, "Sire, only one of two things is possible. We must have either Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. ; Bonaparte, if you can support him ; but you cannot, for you are not alone. Whom could you propose after him ? Not another soldier ; we will not have him. If we wanted a soldier we would keep the one we have, he is the first in the world. After him, any other offered to our choice would not have ten men to support him. I say again, Sire, either Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Anything else is an intrigue." These remarkable words of the Prince of Benevento produced on the mind of the Emperor Alexander all the effect we could have desired. Thus the question was simplified, having now but two alternatives, and as it was evident that Alexander would have nothing to do with either Napoleon or his family, it was reduced to the single proposition of the return of the Bourbons.

The discussion did not terminate till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the Emperor Alexander signed the following declaration :—

"If the conditions of peace required strong guarantees when the object was to restrain the ambition of Bonaparte, they ought to be more favourable when, by a return to a wise government, France herself shall offer the assurance of repose. The sovereigns proclaim that they will no longer treat with Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family. They respect the integrity of the French territory, as it existed under the legitimate monarchy ; they may even go further, since they adopt the principle that France must be great and powerful. They will recognize and guarantee any constitution of which the French nation may make choice. They consequently invite the Senate immediately to appoint a provisional government to manage the business of the state, and to prepare the constitution which may be agreeable to the wishes of the people. The sentiments herein expressed are shared by all the allied powers."

And here I cannot help noticing the haste with which Laborie, whom M. de Talleyrand had appointed secretary to the provisional government, rushed out of the apartment as soon as he got possession of the Emperor

Alexander's declaration. He got it printed with such expedition, that in the space of an hour it was placarded on all the walls in Paris. The effect it produced was prodigious—the hopes of intriguers were at once destroyed by it.

On the morning of the 30th of March, while the battle under the walls of Paris was at the hottest, Bonaparte was still at Troyes. He quitted that town at 10 o'clock, accompanied only by Bertrand, Caulincourt, two aides-de-camp, and two orderly officers. He was not more than two hours in travelling the first ten leagues—indeed, he and his feeble escort performed the journey without changing horses, or even once alighting. The emperor, with his attendants, who were not acquainted with their place of destination, arrived at Sens about one o'clock in the afternoon. Everything was in such confusion that it was impossible to prepare a suitable conveyance for the emperor. Both he and his suite were therefore obliged to continue their journey in a mean-looking calash; and in this equipage, about four in the morning, this monarch, lately so powerful, reached Froidmanteau, about four leagues from Paris. It was there that the emperor received from General Belliard, who arrived at the head of a column of artillery, the first intelligence of the battle of Paris. He heard the news with a composure which was probably affected, in order not to discourage those around them. He walked for about a quarter of an hour on the high-road, in conversation with Belliard, and it was after that promenade that he sent Caulincourt to Paris, as I have before mentioned. Napoleon afterwards went to the house of the postmaster, where he ordered his maps to be brought to him, and, as was his custom, marked the different positions of his own and the enemies' troops with pins, the heads of which were tipped with wax of different colours. After occupying himself some time in this manner, he resumed his journey, and arrived at Fontainebleau at six o'clock in the morning.

On the evening of the 31st of March, the emperor sent for the Duke de Ragusa, who had just arrived at Essonne with his troops. The duke reached Fontainebleau between three and four o'clock in the morning of the 1st of April. At this interview Napoleon received a detailed account of the events of the 30th, and, as I have already stated, highly complimented Marmont for his gallant conduct before the walls of Paris.

All was gloom and melancholy at Fontainebleau, yet the emperor still retained his authority, and I have been informed that he deliberated for some time as to whether he should retire behind the Loire, or at once attempt a bold stroke upon Paris, which would have been far more in accordance with his character than to resign himself to the chances which an uncertain temporizing might afford him. The latter idea pleased him best, and he was seriously considering his plan of attack, when the news of the 31st, and the unsuccessful issue of Caulincourt's mission, gave him to understand that his situation was more desperate than he had hitherto imagined.

Meanwhile the heads of the columns, which the emperor had left at Troyes, arrived at Fontainebleau, after one of the most rapid marches ever known, having completed a distance of fifty leagues in somewhat less than three days. On the 2nd of April Napoleon communicated the events of Paris to the generals who were about him, recommending them, at the same time, to conceal the news, lest it should dispirit the troops upon whom he still relied. The same day he reviewed his troops in the court of the palace. He then endeavoured to persuade the generals to second his mad designs upon Paris, by making them believe that he had made sincere efforts to conclude a peace. He assured them that he had expressed to the Emperor Alexander his willingness to purchase it by immense sacrifices ; that he had consented to resign even the conquests made during the Revolution, and to confine himself within the ancient limits of France.

The old companions of the glory of their chief ex-

claimed, with one voice, " Paris ! Paris ! " but fortunately, during the night, the generals having deliberated with each other, saw the frightful abyss into which they were about to plunge their country. They therefore resolved to intimate in moderate and respectful terms to the emperor, that they would not expose Paris to destruction ; and this spirit of moderation spreading gradually even among the ranks, by the 3rd of April more prudent ideas succeeded the rash enthusiasm of the day preceding.

The wreck of the army assembled at Fontainebleau, the poor remains of a million of troops which had been levied within fifteen months, consisted only of the corps of the Duke de Reggio, Ney, Macdonald, and General Gerard, which altogether did not amount to 24,000 men, and which, joined to the remaining 7,000 of the guard, did not leave the emperor a disposable force of more than 31,000 men. Nothing but madness or sheer despair could have suggested the idea of successfully combating, with such scanty resources, the foreign masses which occupied and surrounded Paris.

On the 2nd of April the Senate published a decree, declaring that Napoleon had forfeited the throne, and abolished the right of succession which had been established in favour of his family. Furnished with this act, and without waiting the concurrence of the Legislative Body, which was given next day, the provisional government published an address to the French armies. In this address the troops were informed that they were no longer soldiers of Napoleon, and that the Senate released them from their oaths. The address of the Senate was sent round to the marshals, and of course to such of them first as were nearest the capital. Of this latter number was Marmont, whose allegiance to the emperor, as we have already seen, yielded only to the sacred interests of his country. Prince Schwartzberg wrote to Marmont to induce him to espouse a cause which had now become the cause of France. To the prince's letter

Marmont replied, that as the army and nation had been absolved from their oaths of allegiance to Napoleon, by a decree of the Senate, he was disposed to concur in the union of the army and the people, which would avert all chance of civil war, and stop the effusion of French blood ; and that he was ready with his troops to quit the army of the Emperor Napoleon, on the following conditions, the assurance of which he required in writing—

“ First, I, Charles Prince Schwartzberg, Marshal and Commander-in-chief of the allied armies, guarantee to all the French troops who, in consequence of the decree of the Senate of the 2nd of April, may quit the standard of Napoleon Bonaparte, that they shall retire freely into Normandy, with arms, baggage, and ammunition, and with the same marks of respect and military honours which the allied troops reciprocally observe to each other. Second,—That if, by this movement, the chances of war should throw into the hands of the allied powers the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, his life and liberty shall be guaranteed, in a space of territory and a circumscribed country, to be chosen by the allied powers and the French government.”

Prince Schwartzberg, in his answer to Marmont, expressed his satisfaction at the marshal's readiness to obey the call of the provisional government, and added, “ I beg of you to believe that I am fully sensible of the delicacy of the sentiment expressed in the article you demand, and which I accept, relative to the person of Napoleon.”

The conditions before mentioned being agreed to on the part of the Prince of Schwartzberg, Marmont considered himself bound to the cause which might now be called the cause of France. It will be seen, however, that he subsequently found himself so circumstanced as to be obliged to request a releasement from his promise, and the Prince of Schwartzberg generously annulled it.

I happened to learn the manner in which Marshal Macdonald was informed of the taking of Paris. He had been two days without any intelligence from the emperor, when he received an order in the handwriting of Berthier, which ran thus : “ The emperor desires that you halt wherever you may receive this order.” After

Berthier's signature the following words were added as a postscript: "You of course know that the enemy is in possession of Paris." This singular postscript, and the tone of indifference in which it was expressed, filled Macdonald with mingled surprise and alarm. He then commanded the rearguard of the army, which occupied the environs of Montereau. Six hours after the receipt of the order alluded to, Macdonald received a second, directing him to put his troops in motion, and he then learnt the emperor's intention of marching on Paris with all his remaining force.

On receiving the emperor's second order Macdonald left his corps at Montereau, and repaired in haste to join Napoleon at Fontainebleau. On his arrival, the emperor had already intimated to the generals commanding divisions in the army corps assembled there, his intention of marching on Paris. Alarmed at such a determination, the generals, most of whom had left in the capital their wives, children, and friends, gathered round Marshal Macdonald, requesting him to go with them, and endeavour to dissuade the emperor from his intention. "Gentlemen," said the marshal, "in the emperor's present situation such a proceeding might displease him. We must use delicacy and precaution. Leave it to me, gentlemen; I will go to the castle."

Marshal Macdonald accordingly went to the palace of Fontainebleau, where the following conversation took place between him and the emperor, and I beg the reader not to lose sight of the fact that it was the marshal himself who gave me the relation. The moment he entered the emperor's apartment, the latter stepped up to him and said, "Well, how are things going on?" "Very badly, Sire." "How! badly! what then are the feelings of your army?" "My army, Sire, is entirely discouraged—their minds are alarmed by the events of Paris." "Will not your troops join me in an advance on Paris?" "Sire, do not think of such a thing. If I were to give such an order to my troops, I should run

the risk of being disobeyed." "But what is to be done? I cannot remain as I am; I have still resources and partisans. It is said that the allies will no longer treat with me. Well, no matter. I will march on Paris. I will be revenged on the inconstancy of the Parisians, and the baseness of the Senate. Woe to the members of the government they have patched up until the return of their Bourbons, for that is what they are aiming at. But to-morrow I shall place myself at the head of my guards, and we will march on the Tuileries."

Whilst Napoleon thus gave way to such idle threats, the marshal listened in silence; at length, perceiving him somewhat more calm, he replied, "Sire, it appears, then, that you are not aware of what has taken place in Paris, of the establishment of a provisional government, and——" "I know it all, and what then?" "Sire," added the marshal, presenting to him a paper, "here is something which will tell you more than I can." Macdonald thereupon gave him a letter from Marshal Beurnonville, announcing the forfeiture of the emperor pronounced by the Senate, and the determination of the allied powers not to treat with Napoleon, or any member of his family. "Marshal," said the emperor, "may this letter be read aloud?" "Certainly, Sire." The letter was then handed to Barre, who read it. An individual then present afterwards described to me the impression which the reading of the letter produced on Napoleon. His features were violently contracted, as I have often observed them on similar momentous occasions. He did not, however, lose his self-command, which, indeed, he could always preserve when policy or vanity required it; and when the reading of Beurnonville's letter was ended, he affected to persist in his intention of marching on Paris. "Sire," exclaimed Macdonald, "that project must be renounced. Not a sword would be drawn from its scabbard to second you in such an enterprise."

The question of the emperor's abdication now began

to be seriously entertained. Caulincourt had already hinted to Napoleon that, in the event of his abdicating personally, there was still a possibility that the allies might agree to a council of regency. This idea, and the opposition of the marshals to his desperate project of marching upon Paris, determined Napoleon to sign his abdication, which he himself drew up in the following terms:—

"The allied powers having declared that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France, and even to lay down his life, for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the regency, of the empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the empire. Given at our palace of Fontainebleau, April 2nd, 1814.
NAPOLÉON."

After having written this act, the emperor presented it to the marshals, saying, "Here, gentlemen! are you satisfied?"

During the conversation with Marshal Macdonald, which has been just related, the emperor was seated. When he came to the resolution of signing his abdication, he rose abruptly, and walked with hurried steps once or twice up and down the apartment. After the act was signed, he said, "Gentlemen, the interests of my son, the interests of the army, and above all the interests of France, must be defended. I therefore appoint as my commissioners to the allied powers the Duke de Vicenza, the Prince of the Moskowa, and the Duke de Ragusa—are you satisfied?" He added after a pause, "I think all these interests are intrusted to good hands." All present answered as with one voice, "Yes, Sire." But no sooner was the answer pronounced than the emperor threw himself on a small yellow sofa which stood near the window, and striking his thigh with his hand, with a sort of convulsive motion, he exclaimed, "No, gentlemen, I will have no regency. With my guards, and Marmont's corps, I shall be in Paris to-morrow." Ney

and Macdonald vainly endeavoured to undeceive him respecting this impracticable design. He rose with marked ill-humour, and rubbing his head, as he was in the habit of doing when much agitated, he said in a loud and authoritative tone, "Retire."

The marshals withdrew, and Napoleon was left alone with Caulincourt. He told the latter, as I afterwards heard, that what had most displeased him in the proceedings which had just taken place, was the reading of Beurnonville's letter. "Sire," observed the Duke de Vicenza, "it was by your order that the letter was read." "Yes, that is true; but why was not that letter addressed directly to me by Macdonald?" "Sire, the letter was at first addressed to Macdonald, but the aide-de-camp who was the bearer of it had orders to communicate its contents to Marmont, on passing through Essonne, because Beurnonville did not know precisely where Macdonald was to be found." After this explanation, which did not take more than three minutes, the emperor appeared satisfied, and said to Caulincourt, "Vicenza, call back Macdonald."

The Duke de Vicenza hastened after the marshal, whom he found at the end of the gallery of the palace engaged in conversation, and brought him back to the emperor. On his returning, Napoleon, who had quite recovered his usual composure, calmly addressed him. "Well, Duke de Tarento, do you think that the regency is the only possible thing?" "Yes, Sire." "Then I wish you to go with Ney to the Emperor Alexander, instead of Marmont; it is better that he should remain with his corps, to which his presence is indispensable. You will therefore go with Ney—I rely on you. I trust you have entirely forgotten all that has separated us for so long a time." "Yes, Sire, I have not thought of it since 1809." "I am glad of it, marshal, and I must acknowledge to you that I was in the wrong." While speaking to the marshal the emperor manifested unusual emotion. He approached him, and pressing his

hand in the most affectionate manner, he uttered but one word more, "Depart."

The emperor's three commissioners—that is to say, Marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the Duke de Vicenza—informed Marmont that they would dine with him as they passed through Essonne, and acquaint him with all that had taken place at Fontainebleau. On their arrival at Essonne, the three imperial commissioners explained to the Duke de Ragusa the object of their mission, and persuaded him to accompany them to the Emperor Alexander. This obliged the marshal to inform them how he was situated. The negotiations which Marmont had opened, and almost concluded, with Prince Schwartzberg, were rendered null by the mission which he had joined, and which it was necessary he should himself explain to the commander of the Austrian army. The three marshals and the Duke de Vicenza repaired to Petitbourg, the headquarters of Prince Schwartzberg, and there the Prince released Marmont from the promise he had given.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WHILE the marshals were gone to Paris, Napoleon was anxious to ascertain whether his commissioners had passed the advanced posts of the foreign armies, determined, in case of resistance, to march on Paris, for he could not bring himself to believe that he had lost every chance. He sent an aide-de-camp to Marmont, whom he ordered to come immediately to Fontainebleau ; but such was his impatience that, instead of waiting for the return of the first, he sent off a second, and then a third officer on the same errand. This rapid succession of messengers alarmed the generals who commanded the different divisions of Marmont's corps at Essonne. They feared that the emperor had been made acquainted with the convention concluded that morning with Prince Schwartzemberg, and that he had sent for Marmont with the view of severely reprimanding him. Napoleon, however, knew nothing of the matter, for Marmont, on departing for Paris, had left orders that it should be said he had gone to inspect his lines. Souham, Lebrun, Des Essarts, and Bordesaille, who had given their assent to the convention with Prince Schwartzemberg, deliberated in the absence of Marmont, and, perhaps being ignorant that he was released from his promise, and fearing the vengeance of Napoleon, they determined to march upon Versailles. On arriving there, the troops, not seeing the marshal at their head, thought themselves betrayed, and a spirit of insurrection soon exhibited itself among them. One of Marmont's aides-de-camp, whom he had

left at Essonne, exerted his utmost endeavours to prevent the departure of his general's corps, but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he hastened to Paris to inform the marshal of what had happened. Marmont was at breakfast at Ney's, with Macdonald and Caulincourt, when he received the news, which almost threw him into despair. He said to the marshals, "I must immediately rejoin my corps and quell this mutiny." Then, without losing a moment, he ordered his carriage, and told the coachman to drive with the utmost speed. He sent forward one of his aides-de-camp to inform the troops of his approach. Having arrived within a few hundred paces of the place where the troops were assembled, he found the generals who were under his orders advancing to meet him. They entreated him not to proceed, as the men were in open insurrection. "I will go into the very midst of them," said Marmont; "in a moment they shall either kill me or acknowledge me as their chief." He then sent off another aide-de-camp to range the troops in the order of battle, and, alighting from his carriage, and mounting a horse, he advanced alone, and thus harangued the soldiers: "How! is there treason here? Is it possible that you disown me? Am I not your comrade? Have I not been wounded twenty times among you? Have I not shared your fatigues and privations, and am I not ready to do so again?" At these words he was interrupted by a general shout of "Vive le Maréchal! Vive le Maréchal!"

The mission of the marshals had caused the most lively apprehensions among the members of the provisional government, but the alarm was equally great on hearing the news of the mutiny of Marmont's troops. During the whole of the day we were in a state of the most cruel anxiety. The insurrectionary spirit, it was feared, might extend to other corps of the army, and the cause of France again be compromised. But the successful gallantry of Marmont saved everything, and it would be impossible to convey an idea of the manner in which

he was received by us at Talleyrand's, when he related the particulars of what had passed at Versailles.

As soon as Marmont had left Paris for Versailles, Napoleon's three commissioners hastened to the Emperor Alexander, to learn his resolution before he should be made acquainted with the movement of Marmont's troops. Alexander had walked out at six in the morning to the residence of the King of Prussia, in the Rue de Bourbon. The two sovereigns afterwards proceeded together to M. de Talleyrand's, where they were when Napoleon's commissioners arrived. On the marshals and Caulincourt being introduced to the two sovereigns, the Emperor Alexander, in answer to their proposition, replied, "The regency is impossible—this, gentlemen, is the conclusion both myself and my allies have come to. Submissions to the provisional government are pouring in from all parts; and if the army had formed contrary wishes, those wishes should have been made known earlier." "Sire," observed Macdonald, "that was impossible, as none of the marshals were in Paris; and, besides, who could foresee the turn which affairs have taken? Could we have foreseen that an unfounded alarm would have removed from Essonne the corps of the Duke de Ragusa, who has this moment left us to bring his troops back to order?" These words produced no change in the determination of the allied sovereigns, who still insisted on Napoleon's unconditional abdication. Before taking leave of the Emperor Alexander the marshals solicited an armistice of forty-eight hours, which time they said was indispensable to negotiate the act of abdication with Napoleon. This request was immediately complied with.

When, in discussing the question of the abdication, conformably with the instructions he had received, Macdonald observed to the Emperor Alexander that Napoleon desired nothing for himself. "Assure him," replied Alexander, "that a provision shall be made for him suitable to the rank he had occupied. Tell him that

if he wishes to reside in my dominions, he shall be well received, though he brought desolation there. I shall always remember the friendship which united us. He shall have the island of Elba, or something else." After taking leave of the Emperor Alexander on the 5th of April, Napoleon's commissioners returned to Fontainebleau, to render an account of their mission. That same day I saw Alexander, and it appeared to me that his mind was relieved from a great weight by the question of the regency being definitely settled. I learned that he intended to quit Paris in a few days, and that he had given full powers to M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, whom he appointed his commissioner to the provisional government.

On the same day, the 5th of April, Napoleon inspected his troops in the palace-yard of Fontainebleau. He observed some coolness among the officers, and even among the private soldiers, who had evinced such enthusiasm at the review on the 2nd of the same month: their altered behaviour shocked him so much that he remained but a short time on the parade, and immediately retired to his apartments. Convinced of the general discontent, which even his soldiers expressed by their silence, he gave himself up to the most painful reflections.

At near one o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, Ney, Macdonald, and Caulincourt arrived at Fontainebleau, to acquaint the emperor with the issue of their mission, and the sentiments expressed by Alexander when they took leave of him. Marshal Ney was the first to announce to Napoleon that the allies required his complete and unconditional abdication, without any other stipulation than his personal safety, which should be guaranteed. Marshal Macdonald and the Duke de Vicenza then spoke to the same effect; but in milder terms than those employed by Ney, who, indeed, was not an adept in courtly phrases. When Marshal Macdonald had finished speaking, Napoleon said with some emotion, " Marshal, I am fully sensible of all that you

have done for me, and of the warmth with which you have pleaded the cause of my son. They wish for my complete and unconditional abdication. Very well : I again empower you to act on my behalf. You shall go and defend my interests, and those of my family." Then, after a few minutes' silence, and again addressing Macdonald, he continued—" Marshal, where shall I go ?" Macdonald then informed the emperor of what Alexander had said, in the supposition of his wishing to reside in Russia.—" Sire," added he, " the Emperor of Russia told me that he destined for you the Island of Elba, or something else." " Or something else !" repeated Napoleon hastily ; " and what is that something else ?" " Sire, I know not." " Ah, no doubt it is the Island of Corsica, which he would not mention in order to avoid any embarrassment. Marshal, I refer all to you."

The marshals returned to Paris as soon as Napoleon had furnished them with new powers ; but on their arrival Ney sent in his adhesion to the provisional government, so that when Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau to convey to Napoleon the definitive treaty of the allies, Ney did not accompany him. Caulincourt had remained with the emperor. When Macdonald entered the emperor's chamber, he found him seated in a small arm-chair before the fireplace. He was dressed in a morning-gown of white dimity, and he wore his slippers without stockings. His elbows rested on his knees, and his head was supported by his hands. He was motionless, and appeared absorbed in profound reflection. Only two persons were with him, the Duke de Bassano, who was at a little distance from the emperor, and Caulincourt, who was near the fireplace. So profound was Napoleon's reverie that he did not hear Macdonald enter, and the Duke de Vicenza was obliged to inform him of the marshal's presence. " Sire, the Duke de Tarento has brought for your signature the treaty which is to be ratified to-morrow." Whereupon the emperor, as if roused from a lethargic slumber,

turned to Macdonald, and merely said, "Ah, marshal, you here?" Napoleon's countenance was so much altered that the marshal, struck with the change, uttered the involuntary exclamation—"Is your Majesty indisposed?" "Yes," replied Napoleon, "I have passed a very bad night."

The emperor continued seated for a moment, then rising he took the treaty, read it without making any observation, and having signed returned it to the marshal, saying, "I am not now rich enough to reward these last services." "Sire, interest never guided my conduct." "I know it, and I now see how much I have been deceived respecting you. I see, too, the designs of those who prejudiced me against you." "Sire, I have already told you that since 1809 I am devoted to you in life and death." "I know it; but since I cannot recompense you as I would wish, I will beg you to accept a token of remembrance, which, trifling as it is, will at least serve to assure you that I shall never forget the services you have rendered me." Then turning to Caulincourt, Napoleon said, "Vicenza, ask for the sabre which was given me by Murad Bey in Egypt, and which I wore at the battle of Mount Thabor." Constant having brought the sabre, the emperor took it from the hands of Caulincourt, and presented it to the marshal. "Here, my faithful friend," said he, "is a reward which I think will gratify you." Macdonald, on receiving the sabre, said, "If ever I have a son, Sire, this will be his most precious inheritance, but I will never part with it as long as I live." "Give me your hand," said the emperor, "and embrace me." At these words Napoleon and Macdonald rushed into each other's arms with a mutual feeling of emotion, and parted with tears in their eyes.

On the 11th of April, at Fontainebleau, after the clauses of the treaty had been guaranteed, Napoleon signed his act of abdication, which was conceived in the following terms:—

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon
(1,594)

is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France."

It was not until after Bonaparte had written and signed the above act, that Marshal Macdonald sent to the provisional government his recognition, expressed with equal dignity and simplicity. It was as follows :—

"Being released from my oaths by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, I declare that I adhere to the acts of the Senate and the provisional government."

Thus terminated Napoleon's legal reign. It is worthy of remark that his act of abdication was published in the *Moniteur* on the 12th of April, the very day on which the Count d'Artois made his entry into Paris with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, conferred on him by Louis XVIII. The 12th of April was also the day on which the imperial army under the walls of Toulouse fought its last battle, when the French troops, commanded by Soult, made Wellington purchase dearly his entrance into the south of France.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

NAPOLÉON having consented to proceed to the island of Elba, conformably with the treaty he had ratified on the 13th, requested to be accompanied to the place of embarkation by a commissioner from each of the allied powers. Count Schuwaloff was appointed by Russia, Colonel Neil Campbell by England, General Köhler by Austria, and Count Waldburg Truchess by Prussia. On the 16th, the four commissioners came for the first time to Fontainebleau, where the emperor, who was still attended by Generals Drouet and Bertrand, gave to each a private audience on the following day.

Although the emperor received with coldness the commissioners whom he had himself solicited, there was still a marked distinction in his behaviour towards them. He who experienced the best reception was Colonel Campbell, whose person still exhibited many traces of wounds. Napoleon asked him in what battles he had received them, and on what occasions he had been invested with the orders he wore. He next questioned him as to the place of his birth. Colonel Campbell having answered that he was a Scotchman, Napoleon congratulated him on being the countryman of Ossian, his favourite author, whose poetry he greatly praised. At this first audience Napoleon said to the Colonel, "I have cordially hated the English—I have made war against you by every possible means—but I esteem your nation. I am convinced there is more generosity in your government than in any other. I should like to be conveyed from Toulon to Elba by an English frigate."

The Austrian and Russian commissioners were received coolly, but without any marked indications of displeasure. It was not so with the Prussian commissioner. The two former Napoleon had detained in conversation about five minutes, but to the latter he said drily, "Are there any Prussians in my escort?" "No, Sir." "Then why do you take the trouble to accompany me?" "Sir, it is not a trouble, but an honour." "These are mere words; you have nothing to do here." "Sir, it was impossible for me to decline the honourable mission with which the king, my master, has intrusted me." At these words Napoleon turned his back on Count Truchess.

At ten in the morning of the 20th the carriages were in readiness and the imperial guard was drawn up in the grand court of the palace of Fontainebleau, called the Court of the White Horse. All the population of the town and the neighbouring villages thronged round the palace. Napoleon sent for General Köhler, and complained of Maria-Louisa not being allowed to accompany him; but at length yielding to the representations that were made to him, he added, "Well, I prefer remaining faithful to my promise, but if I have any fresh cause of complaint, I shall consider myself freed from all my engagements."

At eleven o'clock, Count de Bussy, one of the emperor's aides-de-camp, was sent by the grand marshal to announce that all was ready for departure. "Am I, then," said Napoleon, "to regulate my actions by the grand marshal's watch? I will go when it suits me. Perhaps I shall not go at all. Leave me."

All the forms of imperial etiquette were observed, to avoid wounding the feelings of Napoleon, who loved them so much; and when he at length thought proper to leave his cabinet to enter the saloon, where the commissioners were waiting, the doors were thrown open as usual, and "The Emperor" announced; but no sooner was the word uttered than he hastily turned back again. However, he soon re-appeared, rapidly crossed the gallery,

and descended the staircase, and at twelve o'clock precisely he stood at the head of his guard, as if at a review in the court of the Tuileries in the brilliant days of the consulate and the empire. Then took place a really affecting scene—Napoleon's farewell to his soldiers. Of this I may forbear entering into any details since they are known everywhere and by everybody; but I may subjoin the emperor's last address to his old companions in arms, as it belongs to history. This address, delivered in a voice as firm and sonorous as in the days of his triumphs, was as follows:—

“Soldiers of my old guard, I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have constantly accompanied you on the road to honour and glory. In these latter times, as in the days of our prosperity, you have invariably been models of courage and fidelity. With men such as you, our cause could not be lost, but the war would have been interminable; it would have been civil war, and that would have entailed deeper misfortunes on France. I have sacrificed all my interests to those of the country. I go; but you, my friends, will continue to serve France. Her happiness was my only thought. It will still be the object of my wishes. Do not regret my fate; if I have consented to survive, it is to serve your glory. I intend to write the history of the great achievements we have performed together. Adieu, my friends! Would I could press you all to my heart.” Napoleon then ordered the eagles to be brought, and having embraced them, he added, “I embrace you all in the person of your general. Adieu, soldiers! Be always gallant and good.”

Napoleon's parting words to his soldiers were, “Adieu, my friends. My wishes will always accompany you. Do not forget me!” He then stepped into his carriage, accompanied by Bertrand.

During the first day, cries of “Vive l'Empereur!” resounded along the road, and Napoleon, resorting to his usual dissimulation, affected to upbraid the people for their disloyalty to their legitimate sovereign, which

he did with ill-disguised irony. The guard accompanied him as far as Briare, where he passed the night. Here he invited Colonel Campbell to breakfast with him. He conversed on the last war in Spain, and spoke in complimentary terms of the English nation, and the military talents of Wellington.

On the night of the 21st Napoleon slept at Nevers, where he was still received with the acclamations of the people, who here, as in several other towns, mingled their shouts of enthusiasm, caused by their late emperor's presence, with imprecations against the commissioners of the allies. He left Nevers at six on the morning of the 22nd. The guards not now forming a part of his escort, Napoleon no longer heard the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" and as a corps of Cossacks had succeeded them, he had the mortification to hear in its stead, "Vivent les Alliés!"

At Valance, Napoleon, for the first time, saw French soldiers with the white cockade in their caps. They belonged to Augereau's corps. At Orange, the air resounded with cries of "Vive le Roi!" Here the gaiety, real or feigned, which Napoleon had hitherto maintained, began to forsake him.

At Orgon the whole population of the neighbourhood was assembled, uttering exclamations of "Down with the Corsican!" "Down with the brigand!"

The commissioners would not breakfast until they came to La Calade. A messenger was immediately sent off to Aix to purchase ribbons for making white cockades. All the carriages were brought into the courtyard of the inn, and the gate was closed. The landlady then told the emperor that it would not be prudent for him to venture to pass through Aix, where a population of more than 20,000 were waiting to stone him.

Whilst the commissioners, who had been informed of what was going on at Aix, were consulting about sending an order to the mayor, directing him to close the gates, and to adopt measures for securing the public

tranquillity, about fifty ill-looking fellows had assembled round the inn. One of them asked to speak with the commissioners, and offered to carry a letter to the mayor of Aix. They accepted his services, and in their letter they told the mayor that if the gates of the town were not closed within an hour they would advance with two regiments of Cossacks and six pieces of artillery, and would fire upon all who opposed their passage. This threat had the desired effect, and the mayor returned an answer by the same messenger, that the gates should be closed, and that he would take upon himself the responsibility of whatever might happen.

Thus the emperor escaped the dangers with which he was threatened at Aix; but there was another to be braved. During the seven or eight hours he passed at La Calade, a considerable number of persons had collected round, and it was evident that they would have proceeded to the greatest excesses had not the doors of the inn been carefully fastened. Most of them had in their hands five-franc pieces, in order to recognize the emperor by his likeness to that on the coin. Napoleon, who had passed two nights without sleep, was in a little room adjoining the kitchen, where he had fallen into a slumber, reclining on the shoulder of his *valet-de-chambre*. It was at length announced that everything was ready to renew the journey, but it was thought advisable that the emperor should put on the greatcoat and fur cap of General Köhler, and that he should go into the carriage of the Austrian commissioner. Thus disguised, he left the inn of La Calade, passing between a double row of spectators, who vainly endeavoured to recognize him. On turning the walls of Aix, Napoleon had again the mortification to hear the cries of "Down with the tyrant!" "Down with Nicolas!" and these shouts resounded at the distance of a quarter of a league from the town.

Napoleon, dispirited by these manifestations of hatred, said in a tone of mingled grief and contempt, "The

people of these parts have ever been the same—brawlers and madmen. At the commencement of the Revolution these Provençals committed frightful massacres.” At about a league from Aix, the emperor and his retinue found horses, and an escort of gendarmerie, to conduct them to the castle of Luc.

The Princess Pauline Borghese was at that time at the country-house of M. Charles, member of the legislative body, near the castle of Luc. On hearing of her brother’s misfortunes, which she was astonished he bore up against so well, she determined to accompany him to the island of Elba, and proceeded to Fréjus to embark with him. Her presence was a great consolation to him. At Fréjus the emperor rejoined Colonel Campbell, who had quitted the convoy on the road, and had brought into the port the English frigate, the *Undaunted*, which had been destined for his conveyance. Notwithstanding the wish he had expressed to Colonel Campbell, he evinced great reluctance to go on board. However, on the 28th of April, he sailed for the island of Elba on board that frigate, which could not then be said to carry Cæsar and his fortune.

CHAPTER XXXV.

LOUIS XVIII. succeeding Bonaparte was like Numa coming after Romulus, only Numa had not the misfortune to be surrounded by inexperienced counsellors. Louis XVIII. embarked at Dover on board the *Royal Sovereign*, and landed at Calais on the 24th of April. I shall not enter into any details of the enthusiasm occasioned by his presence on French soil ; that is generally known through the reports of the journalists of the period, who had only to change the word imperial for royal, to give an equally correct and glowing description of it. It is, however, very certain that all sensible persons saw with satisfaction the princes of the house of Bourbon re-ascend the throne of their ancestors, matured by experience and misfortune, which, as some ancient philosopher observes, are the best counsellors of kings.

The king's entrance into Paris did not call forth such a manifestation of public feeling as that of Monsieur. In the places through which I passed on the 3rd of May, astonishment seemed to prevail over every other feeling. In a short time, however, the abatement of public enthusiasm became much more evident, owing to Louis XVIII. having restored the red corps which Louis XVI. had suppressed long before the Revolution.

The measures of government were now the subject of universal complaint. The usages of the ancient regime were gradually restored, and ridicule being mingled with more serious considerations, Paris was speedily inundated with pamphlets and caricatures. However,

tranquillity prevailed until the month of September, when M. de Talleyrand departed for the congress of Vienna. Then all was disorder at the Tuileries. It seemed as if everyone, feeling himself freed from restraint, wished to play the statesman, and Heaven knows how many follies were committed in the absence of the schoolmaster !

Under a feeble government there is but one step from discontent to insurrection ; under an imbecile government like that of France in 1814, after the departure of M. de Talleyrand, conspiracy had free scope. And thus, during the summer of 1814, were prepared the events which had their completion on the 20th of March, 1815. I could almost fancy myself dreaming, when I look back on the miraculous incapacity of the persons then at the head of our government. The emigrants, who, as it has been justly observed, had neither learned nor forgotten anything, came back with all the absurd pretensions of Coblenz.

At the end of 1814, indications too plain to be mistaken enabled me to perceive that a great and important change was at hand. I regretted the errors which were constantly committed by the ministers ; but hoped that the government would gradually return to those principles which were calculated to conciliate public opinion.

So soon as I was informed of the rapidity of Bonaparte's march upon Lyons, and the enthusiasm with which he was received by the people and the army, I prepared to retire to Belgium, there to await the close of the new drama. My arrangements were completed on the evening of the 13th of March, and I was ready to depart, when I received a special message from the Tuileries, stating that the king desired to see me. This order occasioned some alarm, but I did not hesitate to obey. I went direct to M. Hue, to inquire why I had been sent for. He conducted me to the king's chamber, when his majesty addressed me with great kindness, in a tone which clearly expressed his meaning—" M. de

Bourrienne, can we rely upon you? I expect much from your zeal and fidelity."—"Your majesty," replied I, "shall have no cause to complain of my betraying your confidence."—"Tis well; I am about to re-establish the Prefecture of Police, and I appoint you prefect. Go, M. de Bourrienne, do for the best; I rely on you."

Even now I am filled with astonishment when I recall to mind the proceedings of the council which was held at the Tuileries on the night of the 13th of March. The ignorance of the ministers respecting our real situation, and their confidence in the measures they had adopted against Napoleon, exceed all conception. Could it be believed that those great statesmen, who had the control of the telegraph, the post-office, the police and its innumerable agents, money—in short, everything which constitutes power—were absolutely ignorant of the advance of Napoleon, and that they asked me to give them information on the subject? I could only repeat the reports which were circulated on the Exchange, and such others as I had collected during the last twenty-four hours. I did not conceal that all their precautions would be of no avail. This brought on the discussion as to what course should be adopted by the king. It was impossible he could remain in the capital, and yet where was he to go? One proposed Bordeaux; another, La Vendée; a third, Normandy; and a fourth, that the king should be conducted to Melun.

I myself recommended Lille as being the nearest and most secure, and consequently, in the present state of things, the safest asylum. It was after midnight when the council at the Tuileries broke up, without coming to any decision; it was agreed that the different opinions should be submitted to the king, in order that his majesty should adopt that which appeared to him the best. My opinion was adopted, but it was not acted upon until five days after.

My appointment to the Prefecture of Police was, as has been seen, a late-thought-of measure. In accepting office, I was well aware that no effort could prevent the progress of the fast approaching and menacing events. On being introduced into the royal cabinet, his majesty asked me what I thought of the situation of affairs? "I think, Sire, that Bonaparte will be here in five or six days."—"Do you say so?"—"Yes, sire."—"But proper measures are taken, orders given, and the marshals are faithful to me."—"Sire, I suspect no man's fidelity; but I can assure your majesty that as Bonaparte has landed he will be here in eight days. I know him, and your majesty cannot know him as well as I do; but I can venture to assure your majesty that he will not be here six months; he will commit excesses which will ruin him." "M. de Bourrienne, I augur better of events; but if misfortune compels me again to leave France, and your second prediction be fulfilled, you may rely upon me." During this conversation the king appeared calm and resigned.

In February, 1815, when all the arrangements for the departure from Elba had been completed, Murat applied to the court of Vienna for permission to march through the Austrian provinces of Upper Italy an army destined for France. On the 26th of the same month, Napoleon escaped from Elba. These two facts have necessarily a close connection with each other; for however extravagant Murat's ideas might have been, he never could have conceived it possible to compel the King of France by force of arms to recognize his claim to the crown of Naples. Since the return of Louis XVIII., the cabinet of the Tuileries had never regarded Murat in any other character than that of an usurper; and I know that the French plenipotentiaries at the congress of Vienna had special instructions to insist that the restoration of the throne of Naples in favour of the Bourbons of the two Sicilies should be a consequence of the restoration of the throne of France. I likewise know that this

demand was strongly resisted on the part of Austria, whose government had never viewed without extreme jealousy three European thrones in the occupation of the single house of Bourbon. Murat, therefore, was well aware of the part he might play in France, by supporting the conspirators and the interests of Napoleon. Thus he daringly advanced to the banks of the Po, leaving his country and his capital exposed, and incurring by this movement the hostility both of Austria and France. It is incredible that he would have acted in this manner unless he had previously been assured of a powerful diversion, and the assistance of Napoleon in his favour. There is a possibility, indeed, that Murat contemplated securing himself in Italy while the whole powers of Europe should be engaged anew with Napoleon ; but both suppositions lead to the same conclusion—that he was a party to the enterprise of Bonaparte. Murat however, thus acting rather like an adventurer than a monarch, and having failed in an attack against the bridge of Occhio-Bello, was obliged to retreat, and by this ill-judged expedition ruined the great cause in which he was intended to co-operate.

According to information which I received from authority on which I can rely, the following were the plans which Napoleon conceived at Elba. Almost immediately after his arrival in France, he was to order the marshals on whom he could rely to defend to the last extremity the entrance of the French territory, and the approaches to Paris, by manœuvring within the triple line of fortresses which gird the north and east of France. Davoust was set apart for the defence of Paris ; he was to arm the population of the suburbs, and to have besides 20,000 men of the national guard at his disposal. Napoleon, not knowing well the situation of the allies, never supposed that they could concentrate their forces and march against him so speedily as they did. He hoped to take them by surprise, and defeat their projects by causing Murat to

march upon Milan, and exciting insurrection in Italy. The Po once passed, and Murat approaching the capital of Italy, Napoleon, with the corps of Suchet, Brune, Grouchy, and Massena, increased by troops sent by forced marches to Lyons, was to cross the Alps and revolutionize Piedmont. There, having recruited his army from amongst the insurgents, and joined the Neapolitans at Milan, he was to proclaim the independence of Italy, unite the whole country under a single chief, and afterwards march, at the head of 100,000 men, upon Vienna, through the Julian Alps, across which victory had conducted him in 1797. This was not all; numerous emissaries, scattered through Poland and Hungary, were there to foment troubles, to raise the cry of independence, so as to alarm Russia and Austria. It must be confessed it would have been an extraordinary spectacle to see Napoleon giving liberty to Europe in revenge for not having succeeded in enslaving her.

By means of these bold manœuvres and vast combinations, Napoleon had calculated upon assuming the initiative in military operations. Perhaps his genius was never more fully developed than in this vast conception, which was not matured in one day. This design, in fact, comprised the essence of all he had ever aspired to accomplish—embraced all the great enterprises which he had meditated from the first of his fields to his latest hour on the imperial throne. The final object alone was changed—from empire to liberty; but success would in all probability have restored the original plan of his selfish ambition. According to this plan he was to extend his military operations over a line of 500 leagues, from Ostend to Vienna, by the Alps and Italy. He would thus have secured immense resources of every kind, would not only have prevented the Emperor of Austria from marching his troops against France, but, perhaps, have obliged him to terminate a war by which the hereditary states would exclusively suffer. Such was the bright prospect which presented itself to

Napoleon, when he stepped on board the vessel which was to convey him from Elba to France. But the mad precipitation of Murat put Europe on the alert, and the brilliant illusion faded like a dream.

On the 23rd of March Louis XVIII. arrived at Lille. His majesty found the gates closed, and more than an hour elapsed before an order could be obtained for opening them; for the Duke of Orleans, who commanded the town, was inspecting the troops when his majesty arrived. The king was perfectly well received. There appeared some symptoms of defection, for it must be acknowledged that the officers of the old army had been completely sacrificed and passed over to favour the promotion of the returned emigrants; it was therefore very natural that the army should hail the return of a man who had so often led them to victory.

It was Louis XVIII.'s decided wish to continue in France as long as he could; but the Napoleon fever spread with such rapidity among the troops that the garrison of Lille could not be depended upon.

Bonaparte entered Paris on the 20th of March, about nine at night. Nothing could be more gloomy than his entry. The darkness was increased by a thick fog, the streets were almost deserted, and a vague feeling of terror prevailed almost generally in the capital. I had not an opportunity of observing the aspect of Paris during that memorable period, recorded in history by the name of *the hundred days*; but the letters which I received at the time, together with all that I afterwards heard, concurred in assuring me that the capital never presented such a melancholy appearance as during this period. None had confidence in the duration of Napoleon's second reign; and it was said without any reserve that Fouché, while serving the usurpation, would surely betray it. Throughout the whole mass of society, fears for the future agitated men's minds, and discontent had become general. The sight of the federates who paraded the Faubourgs and the boulevards

shouting, "Long live the republic," and "Death to the royalists!"—their sanguinary songs—the revolutionary airs played in the theatres—all tended to produce a fearful stupor over the mind, and the issue of the impending events was anxiously looked for.

One of the circumstances which, at the commencement of the hundred days, chiefly tended to open the eyes of those who were yet dazzled by the past glory of Napoleon, was the non-fulfilment of the promise which he made, that the empress and his son were to be restored to him immediately. It was evident that he could not count upon any ally; and in spite of the prodigious activity with which a new army was created, those persons must have been blind who could imagine the possibility of his triumphing over the whole of Europe, then evidently arming against him. I deplored the inevitable disasters which Bonaparte's bold enterprise would entail; but I had such certain information respecting the intentions of the allies, and the spirit which influenced the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, that I could not, for a moment, doubt the issue of the contest.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE following account of the campaign of 1815 is extracted from the remarks published by Captain John W. Pringle of the Royal Engineers.

France, as is well known, is, on the Belgian frontier, studded with fortresses. Belgium, on the contrary, is now defenceless. The numerous fortresses in the Low Countries, so celebrated in our former wars, had been dismantled in the reign of the Emperor Joseph; and their destruction completed by the French when they got possession of the country at the battle of Fleurus, 1794, with the exception of Antwerp, Ostend, and Nieuport, which they had kept up on account of their marine importance.

The general impression in Belgium was, that Bonaparte would lose no time in endeavouring to regain a country which he considered as almost part of France; important to him from the resources it would have afforded, and perhaps still more so, as it would deprive his enemies of so convenient a base of operations for the preparation of the means for attacking France. The discontent in Belgium, and the Prussian provinces on the Rhine, also amongst the Saxon troops who had served in his army, was known.

The intelligence of Napoleon having landed at Cannes on the 1st of March reached Brussels on the 9th. Preparations were immediately made for the defence of the country. The British troops under General Clinton concentrated, with their allies, near Ath, Mons, and Tournay; and these places, with Ypres, Ghent, and

Oudenarde, were ordered to be put in a state of defence consistently with the exigencies of the moment. To effect this, every use was made of what remained of the old fortifications. New works were added, and advantage was taken of the great system of defence in that country, which is generally under the level of some canal, or the sea, and consequently capable of being inundated. The sluices which commanded the inundations were covered by strong redoubts.

The Duke of Wellington had arrived at Brussels from Vienna early in April, and immediately inspected the frontier and the fortresses ; after which he agreed on a plan of operations with the Prussians, by which they concentrated their troops along the Sambre and Meuse, occupying Charleroi, Namur, and Liege, so as to be in communication with his left. The Prussians had repaired the works round Cologne, which assured their communications with Prussia, and gave them a tête-du-pont on the Rhine.

The Russians were to have come into the line at Mayence, but they did not reach the Rhine until June, and then only the first corps ; so that, for the present, a gap existed from the Prussian left at Dinant to the Austro-Bavarian right at Mannheim.

It was an important object to cover Brussels ; and it is to be considered that this city forms, as it were, a centre to a large portion of the French frontier, extending about seventy miles from the Lys to the Meuse, viz. from Menin to Philipville or Givet ; that it is about fifty miles distant from these extreme points ; and that it was necessary to guard the entry from France by Tournay, Mons, and Charleroi ; and also to prevent Ghent, a very important place, from being attacked from Lille. Bonaparte appears to have attached much importance to the occupation of Brussels, as appears by the bulletins found ready printed in his baggage, which was captured. It was therefore of much importance, in every point of view, to prevent even a

temporary occupation of this city, and this could only be done by risking an action in front of it.

Some movements were observed on the French frontier between Lille and Berguer, as if preparing for offensive operations, about the end of March, at which period the troops cantoned near Menin had orders, after making due resistance, and destroying the bridge on the Lys, to fall back on Courtrai, their point of assembling; and then, after such a resistance as would not compromise their safety in retreat, to endeavour to ascertain the object of the enemy's movements, and give time for the troops to assemble. They were to retire on Oudenarde and Ghent, opening the sluices, and extending the inundation. About the beginning of May similar movements were also observed, but less was then to be apprehended, since, by the advanced state of the works at Tournay, the tête-du-pont at Oudenarde and Ghent, we then commanded the Scheldt, and could have assumed the offensive.

On the night of the 14th of June, the French army bivouacked in three divisions, as near the frontier as possible, without being observed by the Prussians; the left at Ham-sur-heure; the centre at Beaumont, where the headquarters were established; and the right at Philipville.

At three o'clock a.m., on the 15th of June, the French army crossed the frontier in three columns, directed on Marchiennes, Charleroi, and Chatelet. The Prussian outposts were quickly driven in; they, however, maintained their ground obstinately at three points, until eleven o'clock, when General Ziethen took up a position at Gilly and Gosselies, in order to check the advance of the enemy, and then retired slowly on Fleurus, agreeably to the orders of Marshal Blucher, to allow time for the concentration of his army. The French army was formed, on the night of the 15th, in three columns, the left at Gosselies, the centre near Gilly, and the right at Chatelet. Two corps of the Prussian army occupied the

position at Sombref on the same night, where they were joined by the 1st corps, and occupied St. Amand, Bry, and Ligny; so that, notwithstanding all the exertions of the French, at a moment when time was of such importance, they had only been able to advance about fifteen English miles during the day, with nearly fifteen hours of daylight. The corps of Ziethen had suffered considerably, but he had effected his orders; so that Marshal Blucher was enabled to assemble three corps of his army, 80,000 men, in position early on the 15th, and his 4th corps was on its march to join him that evening.

The Duke of Wellington seems to have expected an attack by the Mons chaussée, and on his first receiving information of the enemy's movements, merely ordered his troops to hold themselves in readiness; this was on the evening of the 15th of June, at six o'clock. Having obtained further intelligence about eleven o'clock, which confirmed the real attack of the enemy to be along the Sambre, orders were immediately given for the troops to march upon Quatre-bras.

The Duke of Wellington arrived at Quatre-bras on the 16th, at an early hour, and immediately proceeded to Bry, to concert measures with Marshal Blucher, for arranging the most efficient plan of support. It appeared at that time that the whole French attack would be directed against the Prussians, as considerable masses of the enemy were in movement in their front.

The object of the enemy on the 16th, as may be seen by the general orders of Napoleon, communicated by Soult to Ney and Grouchy, was to turn the Prussian right, by driving the British from Quatre-bras, and then to march down the chaussée upon the Bry, and thus separate the armies. For this purpose, Ney was detached with 43,000 men. The plan was excellent, and if Ney had been successful, would have led to important results. After obtaining possession of Quatre-bras, he was to have detached part of his forces to attack the

Prussian right flank in rear of St. Amand, whilst Bonaparte was making the chief attack on that village, the strongest in the position, and at the same time keeping the whole Prussian line engaged. Half of Ney's force was left in reserve near Frasnés, to be in readiness either to support the attacks on Quatre-bras or St. Amand, and in the event of both succeeding, to turn the Prussian right, by marching direct on Wagnele or Bry.

The village of St. Amand was well defended ; it formed the strength of the Prussian right, and from the intersection of several gardens and hedges, was very capable of defence, although so much in advance of the rest of the Prussian position. After a continued attack for two hours, the enemy had only obtained possession of half the village of St. Amand, and a severe attack was made upon Ligny, which was taken and retaken several times. At this time Bonaparte sent for the corps of reserve left by Ney at Frasnés ; before, however, it reached St. Amand in consequence of the check they had sustained at Quatre-bras, it was countermarched, and from this circumstance became of little use either to Bonaparte or Ney. Bonaparte, having observed the masses of troops which Blücher had brought up behind St. Amand, appears to have changed the disposition of his reserves, who were marching upon St. Amand, and moved them towards the right to attack the Prussian centre at Ligny, which they succeeded in forcing, and so obtained possession of that village. It was now nine o'clock, about dark, which prevented the French from advancing farther, and they contented themselves with the occupation of Ligny. The Prussians did not evacuate Bry before three o'clock a.m. on the 17th. In the course of the night, the Prussians fell back on Tilly and Gembloux. The loss of the Prussians, according to their own account, amounted to 14,000 men and fifteen pieces of artillery : the French official account in the *Moniteur* says 15,000. The French acknowledge to have lost 7,000.

The force of the enemy, at the time the Duke of Wellington left Quatre-bras to communicate with Blücher, appeared to be so weak that no serious attack was at that time to be apprehended; but on his return to that position, about three o'clock, he found they had assembled a large force at Frasnes, and were preparing for an attack, which was made about half-past three o'clock by two columns of infantry, and nearly all their cavalry, supported by a heavy fire of artillery. The force at that time under his orders was 17,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, of which about 4,500 were British infantry, the rest Hanoverians, and Belgians, and Nassau troops. They at first obtained some success, driving back the Belgian and Brunswick cavalry; their cavalry penetrated amongst our infantry before they had quite time to form squares, and forced a part to retire into the adjoining wood; they were, however, repulsed. At this period of the action, the third British division, under General Alten, arrived about four o'clock, soon after the action had commenced. They consisted of about 6,300 men, and were composed of British, King's German legion, and Hanoverians. They had some difficulty in maintaining their ground, and one regiment lost a colour. They succeeded, however, in repelling the enemy from the advanced points he had gained at the farm of Gemincourt and the village of Pierremont.

Ney, still, however, occupied part of the wood of Bossu, which extends from Quatre-bras, on the right of the road towards Frasnes, to the distance of about a mile. This favoured an attack on the right of our position, which he accordingly made, after having been repulsed on the left. At this moment the division of General Cooke (guards), 4,000 strong, arrived from Enghien, and materially assisted to repel this attack, which, after considerable exertions, was done, and the enemy driven back upon Frasnes in much confusion. This affair was severely contested, and though the enemy were repulsed, the loss on each side was nearly equal, owing to the

superiority of the French in artillery. The loss, however, inflicted on the French by the fire of musketry, which their attacking columns were exposed to, was very considerable, and counterbalanced the advantage they derived from their artillery. It required great exertions to maintain the important post of Quatre-bras, in the present relative situations of the two armies. If Ney had advanced as rapidly as Bonaparte says he might have done, he would have obtained his object.

But even had Ney got possession of Quatre-bras at an early hour, he would scarcely have been able to detach any sufficient force against the Prussians, seeing, as he must have done, or at least ought to have calculated, that the British forces were arriving rapidly on the point which we suppose him to have occupied. The British could have still retreated on Waterloo, and been concentrated on the 17th at that position; and there was nothing to prevent the Prussians retreating on Wavre, as they afterwards did. Bonaparte did not gain possession of Quatre-bras until the forenoon of the 17th. He had sustained a severe check with one part of his army, and gained an indecisive action with the other; the loss of the allies not exceeding his own, whilst they had the advantage of retiring leisurely on their resources and reinforcements, and, by the retreat, gave up no place or position now of consequence to the pursuing enemy. The result of the operations of the 16th produced no important consequences to the French. The celebrated engineer, General Rogniat, does not hesitate to term it an indecisive action. The success of the British in repelling the attack of Quatre-bras tended to make them meet the renewed attack at Waterloo with more confidence, and probably had a contrary effect on the enemy; whilst the manner in which the Prussian corps of Thielmann received the attack of Grouchy on the 18th, who had superior forces, showed how little the confidence of the Prussians had been shaken by the action at Ligny.

On the morning of the 17th, the British troops remained in possession of Quatre-bras, where the rest of the army had joined the Duke of Wellington, who was prepared to maintain that position against the French army, had the Prussians remained in the position of Ligny, so as to give him support.

Marshal Blucher had sent an aide-de-camp to inform the duke of his retreat, who was unfortunately killed, and it was not until seven o'clock on the 17th that Lord Wellington learned the direction which the Prussians had taken. The Prussians had fallen back very leisurely on Wavre, their rearguard occupying Bry, which they did not evacuate before three o'clock on the morning of the 17th. The retrograde movement of the Prussians rendered a corresponding one necessary on the part of the British, which was performed in the most leisurely manner, the duke allowing the men time to finish their cooking. About ten o'clock the whole army retired, in three columns, by Genappe and Nivelles, towards a position at Waterloo.

As the troops arrived in position in front of Mont Saint Jean they took up the ground they were to maintain, which was effected early in the evening. The weather began to be very severe at this period. The whole French army, under Bonaparte, with the exception of two corps under Grouchy (32,000 men and 108 guns), took up a position immediately in front ; and after some cannonading both armies remained opposite to each other during the night, the rain falling in torrents. The duke had already communicated with Marshal Blucher, who promised to come to his support with the whole of his army on the morning of the 18th. It was consequently decided upon to cover Brussels (the preservation of which was of such importance, in every point of view, to the King of the Netherlands), by maintaining the position of Mont St. Jean. The intention of the allied chiefs, if they were not attacked on the 18th, was to have attacked the enemy on the 19th.

The morning of the 18th, and part of the forenoon, were passed by the enemy in a state of supineness, for which it was difficult to account. The rain had certainly retarded his movements, more particularly that of bringing his artillery into position ; yet it was observed that this had been accomplished at an early hour. Grouchy has given as a reason that Napoleon's ammunition had been so much exhausted in the preceding actions that there was only a sufficiency with the army for an action of eight hours. The heavy fall of rain on the night of the 17th was no doubt more disadvantageous to the enemy than to the troops under Lord Wellington ; the latter were in position, and had few movements to make ; whilst the enemy's columns, and particularly his cavalry, were much fatigued and impeded by the state of the ground, which, with the trampled corn, caused them to advance more slowly, and kept them longer under fire. On the other hand, the same causes delayed the Prussians in their junction, which they had promised to effect at eleven o'clock, and obliged Lord Wellington to maintain the position alone nearly eight hours longer than had been calculated upon.

About twelve o'clock the enemy commenced the action by an attack upon Hougomont, with several columns, preceded by numerous light troops, who, after severe skirmishing, drove the Nassau troops from the wood in its front, and established themselves in it.

During the early part of the day, the action was almost entirely confined to this part of the line, except a galling fire of artillery along the centre, which was vigorously returned by our guns. This fire gradually extended towards the left, and some demonstrations of an attack of cavalry were made by the enemy. As the troops were drawn up on the slope of the hill, they suffered most severely from the enemy's artillery. In order to remedy this, Lord Wellington moved them back about one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards, to the reverse slope of the hill, to shelter them from the

direct fire of the guns ; our artillery in consequence remained in advance, that they might see into the valley. This movement was made between one and two o'clock by the duke in person ; it was general along the front or centre of the position, on the height to the right of La Haye Sainte.

It is by no means improbable that the enemy considered this movement as the commencement of a retreat, since a considerable portion of our troops were withdrawn from his sight, and determined in consequence to attack our left centre, in order to get possession of the buildings called Ferme de M. St. Jean, or of the village itself, which commanded the point of junction of the two chaussées. The attacking columns advanced on the Genappe chaussée, and by the side of it ; they consisted of four columns of infantry (d'Erlon's corps, which was not engaged on the 16th), thirty pieces of artillery, and a large body of cuirassiers (Milhaud's). On the left of this attack, the French cavalry took the lead of the infantry, and had advanced considerably, when the Duke of Wellington ordered the heavy cavalry (Life Guards) to charge them as they ascended the position near La Haye Sainte. They were driven back on their own position, where the chaussée, being cut into the rising ground, leaves steep banks on either side. In this confined space they fought at swords' length for some minutes, until the enemy brought down some light artillery from the heights, when the British cavalry retired to their own position. The loss of the cuirassiers did not appear great. They seemed immediately to reform their ranks, and soon after advanced to attack our infantry, who were formed into squares to receive them, being then unsupported by cavalry. The columns of infantry in the meantime pushed forward on *our* left of the Genappe chaussée, beyond La Haye Sainte, which they did not attempt in this attack to take. A Belgian brigade of infantry, formed in front, gave way, and these columns crowned the position ; when Sir Thomas

Picton moved up the brigade of General Pack from the second line (the 92nd regiment in front), which opened a fire on the column just as it gained the height, and advanced upon it ; when within thirty yards, the column began to hesitate ; at this moment a brigade of heavy cavalry (the 1st and 2nd Dragoons) wheeled round the 92nd regiment, and took the column in flank ; a total rout ensued ; the French, throwing down their arms, ran into our position to save themselves from being cut down by the cavalry ; many were killed, and two eagles, with 2,000 prisoners, taken. But the cavalry pursued their success too far, and being fired upon by one of the other columns, and at the same time, when in confusion, being attacked by some French cavalry, who had been sent to support the attack, the British were obliged to retire with considerable loss. In this attack the enemy had brought forward several pieces of artillery, which were captured by our cavalry ; the horses in the guns were killed, and we were obliged to abandon the guns. General Ponsonby, who commanded the cavalry, was killed. The gallant Sir Thomas Picton also fell, leading on his division to repel this attack. From this period, half-past two, until the end of the action, the British cavalry were scarcely engaged, but remained in readiness in the second line. After the French cuirassiers had re-formed, and were strongly reinforced, they again advanced upon our position, and made several desperate attacks upon our infantry, who immediately formed into squares, and maintained themselves with the most determined courage and coolness.

The French cavalry, in the attack on the centre of our line above mentioned, were not supported by infantry. They came on, however, with the greatest courage, close to the squares of our infantry ; the artillery, which was somewhat in advance, kept up a well-directed fire upon them as they advanced, but, on their nearer approach, the gunners were obliged to retire into the squares, so that the guns were actually in possession of the enemy's

cavalry, who could not, however, keep possession of them, or even spike them, if they had the means, in consequence of the heavy fire of musketry to which they were exposed. They were driven back with loss on all points, and the artillerymen immediately resumed their guns in the most prompt manner, and opened a severe and destructive fire of grape-shot on them as they retired.

After the failure of the first attack, the French had little or no chance of success by renewing it ; but the officers, perhaps ashamed of the failure of such boasted troops, endeavoured repeatedly to bring them back to charge the squares ; but they could only be brought to pass between them, and round them. They even penetrated to our second line, where they cut down some stragglers and artillery drivers, who were with the limbers and ammunition-waggon. They charged the Belgian squares in the second line with no better success ; and upon some heavy Dutch cavalry showing themselves, they soon retired.

The British army had sustained several severe attacks, which had been all repulsed, and no advantage of any consequence had been gained by the enemy. They had possessed part of the wood and garden of Hougomont, and La Haye Sainte, which latter they were unable to occupy. Not a square had been broken, shaken, or obliged to retire. Our infantry continued to display the same obstinacy, the same cool, calculating confidence in themselves, in their commander, and in their officers, which had covered them with glory in the long and arduous war in the Peninsula. From the limited extent of the field of battle, and the tremendous fire their columns were exposed to, the loss of the enemy could not have been less than 15,000 killed and wounded. Two eagles and 2,000 prisoners had been taken, and their cavalry almost destroyed. We still occupied nearly the same position as we did in the morning, but our loss had been severe, perhaps not less than 10,000 killed and wounded. Our ranks were further thinned by the

numbers of men who carried off the wounded, part of whom never returned to the field. The number of Belgian and Hanoverian troops, many of whom were young levies, that crowded to the rear, was very considerable, besides the number of our own dismounted dragoons, together with a proportion of our infantry, some of whom, as will always be found in the best armies, were glad to escape from the field. These thronged the road leading to Brussels, in a manner that none but an eye-witness could have believed ; so that perhaps the actual force under the Duke of Wellington at this time, half-past six, did not amount to more than 34,000 men. We had at an early hour been in communication with some patrols of Prussian cavalry on our extreme left. But it was certainly past five o'clock before the fire of the Prussian artillery (Bulow's corps) was observed from our position ; and it soon seemed to cease altogether. It appears that they had advanced, and obtained some success, but were afterwards driven back to a considerable distance by the French, who sent a corps under General Lobau to keep them in check. About half-past six the first Prussian corps came into communication with our extreme left near Ohain.

The effective state of the several armies may be considered to have been as follows.

The army under the Duke of Wellington amounted, at the commencement of the campaign, to 75,000 men, including every description of force, of which nearly 40,000 were English or the King's German Legion. Our loss at Quatre-bras amounted to 4,500 killed and wounded, which reduced the army to 70,500 men ; of these about 54,000 were actually engaged at Waterloo—about 32,000 were composed of British troops, or the King's German legion, including cavalry, infantry, and artillery ; the remainder, under Prince Frederic, took no part in the action, but covered the approach to Brussels from Nivelles, and were stationed in the neighbourhood of Halle. The French force has been variously stated,

and it is not easy to form a very accurate statement of their strength. Batty gives it at 127,000; that is the number which crossed the frontiers. It is also given at 122,000. Courgaud reduces it to 115,000; of these, 21,000 were cavalry, and they had 350 guns. They assert they had but 71,000 engaged at Waterloo.

This number, however, is certainly underrated; and there is little doubt but Bonaparte had upwards of 75,000 men under his immediate command on the 18th of June.

It may be necessary here to refer to the operations of the corps under Grouchy, who were detached in pursuit of the Prussians. It appears that at twelve o'clock on the 17th, Bonaparte was ignorant of the direction the Prussian army had taken. It was generally supposed that it was towards Namur. At that hour Bonaparte ordered Grouchy, with 32,000 men, to follow them. As the troops were much scattered, it was three o'clock before they were in movement, and they did not arrive at Gembloux before the night of the 17th, when Grouchy informed Bonaparte of the direction the Prussian army had taken. He discovered the rearguard of the Prussians near Wavre about twelve o'clock on the 18th, and at two o'clock he attacked Wavre, which was obstinately defended by General Thielmann, and succeeded in obtaining possession of a part of the village. By the gallant defence of this post by General Thielmann, Grouchy was induced to believe that the whole Prussian army was before him. Blucher, however, had detached Bulow's corps (4th) at an early hour upon Chapelle-Lambert, to act on the rear of the French army.

The British army, at this eventful period of the day, amounted to about 34,000 men (allowing 10,000 killed and wounded, and 10,000 more who had left the field), 18,000 of whom were English. The enemy may have had about 45,000 immediately opposed to us, allowing 20,000 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; and 10,000 men detached to act against the Prussians.

The assistance of the Prussians had been expected at an early hour, which had induced Lord Wellington to accept a battle ; so that the British army had to bear the whole brunt of the action for a much longer period than was calculated. Lord Wellington, however, showed no anxiety as to the result. The corps of Lord Hill, several Belgian battalions, and a considerable portion of the cavalry, had been little engaged. He knew the troops he had under his command, and seemed confident of being able to maintain his position, even if the Prussians did not arrive before night.

The above detail has been entered into for the purpose of showing the state of the armies towards the close of the day. Bonaparte was now aware of the powerful diversion the Prussians were about to make, but at the same time seems to have imagined that Grouchy would be able to paralyze their movements. He therefore resolved to make a last desperate effort to break the centre of the British army, and carry their position before the attack of the Prussians could take effect.

The Imperial Guard had been kept in reserve, and had been for some time formed on the heights extending from La Belle Alliance towards Hougomont, which supported their left flank. They had not yet been engaged.

About seven o'clock they advanced in two columns, leaving four battalions in reserve. They were commanded by Ney, who led them on. At the same time they pushed on some light troops in the direction of La Haye. The advance of these columns of the guards was supported by a heavy fire of artillery. Our infantry, who had been posted on the reverse of the hill, to be sheltered from the fire of the guns, were instantly moved forward by Lord Wellington. General Maitland's brigade of guards, and General Adams' brigade (52nd and 71st regiments, and 95th rifles), met this formidable attack. They were flanked by two brigades of artillery, who kept up a destructive fire on the advancing columns.

Our troops waited for their approach with their characteristic coolness, until they were within a short distance of our line, when they opened a well-directed fire upon them. The line was formed four deep. The men fired independently, retiring a few paces to load, and then advanced and fired, so that their fire never ceased for a moment. The French, headed by their gallant leader, still advanced, notwithstanding the severe loss they sustained by this fire, which apparently seemed to check their movement. They were now within about fifty yards of our line, when they attempted to deploy in order to return the fire. Our line appeared to be closing round them. They could not, however, deploy under such a fire ; and from the moment they ceased to advance their chance of success was over. They now formed a confused mass, and at last gave way, retiring in the utmost confusion. They were immediately pursued by the light troops of General Adams' brigade. This decided the battle. The enemy had now exhausted his means of attack. He had still, however, the four battalions of the Old Guard in reserve. Lord Wellington immediately ordered the whole line to advance to attack their position. The enemy were already attempting a retreat. These battalions formed a square to cover the retreat of the flying columns, flanked by a few guns, and supported by some light cavalry (red lancers).

The first Prussian corps had now joined our extreme left. They had obtained possession of the village of La Haye, driving out the French light troops who occupied it. Bulow, with the fourth corps, had some time previous to this made an unsuccessful attack upon the village of Planchenoit, in the rear of the enemy's right wing, and being joined by the second corps (Pirch's), was again advancing to attack it. In the meantime, the square of the Old Guard maintained itself, the guns on its flank firing upon our light cavalry, who now advanced, and threatened to turn their flank. Our light

troops were close on their front, and our whole line advancing, when this body, the "*élite*," and now the only hope of the enemy to cover their retreat, and save their army, gave way, and mixed in the general confusion and rout, abandoning their cannon and all their material. It was now nearly dark. Bulow, upon being joined by Pirch's corps, again attacked Planchenoit, which he turned; and then the enemy abandoned it. He immediately advanced towards the Genappe chaussée, and closed round the right of the French, driving the enemy before him, and augmenting their confusion. His troops came into the high-road, or chaussée, near Maison du Roi, and Blucher and Wellington having met about the same time near La Belle Alliance, it was resolved to pursue the enemy, and give him no time to rally.

The Prussians, who had made only a short march during the day, pursued the enemy with such vigour that they were unable to rally a single battalion. The British army halted on the field of battle. The French once attempted to make a show of resistance at Genappe, where, perhaps, if they had had a chief to direct them, they might have maintained themselves until daylight, the situation of the village being strong; this might have given them the means of saving at least the semblance of an army. The second Prussian corps was afterwards detached to intercept Grouchy, who was not aware of the result of the battle until twelve o'clock next day. He had succeeded in obtaining some advantage over General Thielmann, and got possession of Wavre. He immediately retreated towards Namur, where his rearguard maintained themselves against all the efforts of the Prussians, who suffered severely in their attempt to take the place. This served to cover his retreat, which he executed with great ability, keeping in a parallel line to Blucher; and having rallied many of the fugitives, he brought his army without loss to Paris. He had been considered as lost and his

army made prisoners ; this belief was a great cause of the resignation of Bonaparte ; otherwise, with this army he could have mustered 70,000 or 80,000 men ; with the fortifications and resources of Paris, which was sufficiently secure against a *coup-de-main*, it is not likely he would have so easily submitted without another struggle, after the brilliant defensive campaign he had made the preceding year.

The time of the arrival and co-operation of the Prussians has been variously stated. The above account is perhaps as near the truth as can be. The French writers make it at an early hour, to account more satisfactorily for their defeat. The Prussians also make it somewhat earlier than was actually the case, in order to participate more largely in the honours of the day. Their powerful resistance has been acknowledged to its full extent. They completed the destruction of the French army, after they had failed in all their attacks against the British, which continued upwards of seven hours ; after their cavalry had been destroyed, their Imperial Guards driven back, and eagles and prisoners taken, and when their means of further attack may be considered as exhausted. The British army had suffered severely, and was not in a state to have taken great advantage of the retreat of the French. But its safety was never for a moment compromised, and no calculation could justify the idea that we would have been so easily defeated and driven from our position, but that the enemy would have been so much crippled, that he could not have taken much advantage of our reverses. Even in such a case the arrival of the Prussians must have obliged him to have retired.

This short campaign of " Hours " was a joint operation. The honours must be shared. On the 16th, the Prussians fought at Ligny under the promise of our co-operation, which could not, however, be given to the extent it was wished or hoped. On the 18th, Lord Wellington fought at Waterloo, on the promise of the early

assistance of the Prussians, which, though unavoidably delayed, was at last given with an effect which perhaps had never before been witnessed. The finest army France ever saw, commanded by the greatest and ablest of her chiefs, ceased to exist, and in a moment the destiny of Europe was changed.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

NAPOLÉON himself continued his flight until he reached Philipville, and at this point he intended to have placed himself at the head of Grouchy's division, but a report became current that this division also had been destroyed, and that the general was made prisoner. These reports led him to abandon his purpose, and to continue his journey to Paris, whither he carried the news of his own defeat.

On the 19th, the capital had been greeted with the news of three great victories—at Charleroi, at Ligny, and at Quatre-bras; but on the 21st, the third day after the fatal action, it was whispered, and then openly said, that Napoleon had returned alone from the army on the preceding night, and was now at the palace of the Bourbon-Elysée. The fatal truth could not long be concealed—that a great battle had been fought, and that the French army was destroyed.

The two chambers hastily assembled, and passed a series of resolutions; the first, declared the state to be in danger; the second, *their* sittings to be *permanent*; the third, that the troops had deserved well of their country; the fourth, that the national guard should be called out; and the fifth, that the ministers be invited to repair to the assembly.

All seemed to unite in one sentiment that the abdication of Napoleon was a measure absolutely necessary; and a committee of five members was appointed to concert measures with ministers. The Chamber of Peers

adopted the three first resolutions of the lower chamber, and named a committee of public safety.

It was now evident that Napoleon must either declare himself absolute, and dissolve the Chambers by violence, or abdicate the authority he had so lately resumed. His brother Lucien recommended him to dissolve the Chambers, as he had formerly done on the 19th Brumaire: but times were now very much changed, and he could neither bring himself to adopt desperate measures, nor to make an apparently voluntary resignation. On the evening of the 21st of June he held a council to which the presidents and vice-presidents of both Chambers were admitted, and after an angry discussion, in which his abdication was stated as necessary, the meeting broke up without coming to any decision.

On the morning of the 22nd of June, only four days after the defeat at Waterloo, the Chamber of Representatives again assembled, and expressed the utmost impatience to receive the act of abdication. They were about to put it to the vote, that it should be demanded of the emperor; but this was rendered unnecessary by his compliance. It was presented by Fouché, and was expressed in the following terms:—

“Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

“Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French.

“The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take

in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to form, without delay, the regency by law.

“ Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed)

“ NAPOLEON.

“ Done at the Palace Elysée,
June the 22nd, 1815.”

The debate which followed the production of this act, in either house, was violent ; but to preserve the respect due to the late emperor, the Chamber named a committee to wait on him with an address of thanks, in which they carefully avoided all mention and recognition of his son. Napoleon, for the last time, received the committee delegated to present the address in the imperial robes, and surrounded by the great officers of state. He seemed pale and pensive, but firm and collected ; and in his answer he recommended unanimity, and the speedy preparation of means of defence. He also reminded them that his abdication was conditional, and comprehended the interests of his son.

The president of the Chamber replied, with profound respect, that the Chamber had given him no directions respecting the subjects which he had just pressed upon them. Napoleon now clearly perceived that there was no hope for his son ; he dismissed the deputation with dignity and courtesy, and thus terminated the second reign—the *hundred days* of Napoleon.

A provisional government was formed, vesting the executive powers of the state in five persons—two chosen from the House of Peers, and three from that of the Representatives. These were Carnot, Fouché, Caulincourt, Grenier, and Quinette.

The chambers again met on the 24th of June, when the question of the succession came to be considered, and was evaded upon the plea that there was no occasion for a formal recognition of Napoleon II., since he was, by the terms of the constitution, already in possession

of the throne. By this means the Chambers succeeded in silencing the imperialist party, by nominally acknowledging the young Napoleon's right to the crown; and at the same time preventing the interference of Napoleon or any of his friends in the further administration of the country. The provisional government also exacted a proclamation from Napoleon, addressed in his own name to the soldiers, in order to confirm the fact of his abdication, which the troops were unwilling to believe on any authority inferior to his own. They also required that he should retire to the palace of Malmaison, where he had not been a single day, before, surrounded by Fouché's police, he found that he was no longer the free master of his own actions. From this they proceeded to place him under a sort of arrest, by directing General Beker, an officer with whom Napoleon had been on indifferent terms, to watch over, and if necessary to restrain, his movements in such a manner as to prevent his escape, and to use measures to induce him to leave Malmaison for Rochefort, where two frigates were provided to convey him to the United States of America.

Napoleon submitted to his destiny with resignation and dignity. He received General Beker with ease, and even cheerfulness; and the latter, with feelings which did him honour, felt the task committed to him the more painful, as he had experienced the personal enmity of the individual who was now committed to his charge. On the 29th of June Napoleon departed from Malmaison; and on the 3rd of July he arrived at Rochefort. General Beker accompanied him, as he was instructed to continue his *surveillance* until he had actually embarked on board the vessels. In this journey, wherever he came, the troops received him with acclamation, and the citizens respected the misfortunes of one who had been wellnigh master of the world.

The provisional government sent to the Duke of Wellington to request passports for Napoleon to the States of America, but as the duke had no instructions from

his government he declined to grant them ; and the only consequence of this application, as perhaps it was intended, was to increase the vigilance of the English cruisers so as to prevent the possibility of flight.

The provisional government now attempted, without success, to awaken the spirit of the soldiery as in 1794 ; but the charm was dissolved, the soldiers refused to fight " because they had no longer an emperor." Meanwhile the armies of Soult and Grouchy were driven under the walls of Paris, and closely followed by the English and Prussians ; and after some further useless resistance, an armistice was concluded, by which the capital was surrendered to the allies, and the French army was drawn off behind the Loire.

The allies communicated to the provisional government that they considered their authority as at an end, and that Louis XVIII., who was then at St. Denis, would, in a few days, enter his capital, and resume his royal authority. They accordingly dissolved themselves, and Louis re-entered his capital on the 8th of July, and was once more installed in the palace of his ancestors.

So rapid had been the progress of events since the battle of Waterloo that within the short space of fifteen days, Napoleon not only found himself an exile, but obliged to surrender himself to some one of his enemies. It is true that means for his transportation were provided, and still at his disposal ; but the increased vigilance of the English navy had rendered his escape by sea all but impossible. He was aware that the white flag was already hoisted at the neighbouring town of Rochelle, and that the authorities at Rochefort were only waiting his departure to follow the example. Various means of escape were projected, but all in their turn were abandoned—and the only alternative which now remained was to surrender his person either to the allied powers as a body, or to one of them in particular.

Accordingly, on the 10th of July, Napoleon sent two

of his attendants, General Savary and Count Las Cases, to open a communication with Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, under pretence of inquiring about a safe conduct from England, which they said had been promised to him. But this was merely a pretence; their object was to ascertain whether Captain Maitland would permit the frigates to sail with him, without interruption. On this being refused by the British commander, it then became evident to Napoleon that there was no alternative but to surrender. Various negotiations were then entered into for that purpose, and on the 15th of July, he was received on board the *Bellerophon* with the greatest respect, but without any distinguished honours. Napoleon uncovered himself on reaching the quarter-deck, and said to Captain Maitland, in a firm tone of voice, "I come to place myself under the protection of your prince and laws." His manner was uncommonly pleasing, and he displayed much address in seizing upon opportunities of saying things flattering to the hearers whom he wished to conciliate.

As the terms upon which this surrender took place have been variously represented, we think we cannot do better than give the letter which Captain Maitland addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty on the 14th of July, and which was despatched on that day along with the well-known letter which Napoleon addressed to the Prince Regent. These letters, we think, will satisfactorily show that the surrender was unconditional. Captain Maitland thus writes :

"For the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I have to acquaint you that the Count Las Cases and General Lallemand this day came on board his majesty's ship under my command, with a proposal from Count Bertrand for me to receive on board Napoleon Bonaparte, for the purpose of throwing himself on the generosity of the Prince Regent. Con-

ceiving myself authorized by their lordships' secret order, I have acceded to the proposal, and he is to embark on board this ship to-morrow morning. That no misunderstanding might arise, I have explicitly and clearly explained to Count Las Cases that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort, but that all I can do is to carry him and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as his Royal Highness may deem expedient."

The letter to the Prince Regent was in these terms :—

" ROCHEFORT, July 13, 1815.

" ROYAL HIGHNESS,

" A victim to the factions which distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws ; which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

" NAPOLEON."

The *Bellerophon* immediately set sail for England, and during the whole passage, notwithstanding his situation and the painful uncertainty under which he laboured, Napoleon seemed always tranquil and in good temper : at times he even approached to cheerfulness. On the 24th the *Bellerophon* entered Torbay, and on the 26th they were ordered round to Plymouth Sound. The arrival of Napoleon having by this time become known, the ship was immediately surrounded by numerous boats, filled with persons whose curiosity nothing could repress. There was great difficulty in keeping the ship itself clear of these eager multitudes. Napoleon appeared on the deck, and was greeted with huzzas, and bowed and smiled in return.

On the 31st of July the final resolution of the British government was communicated to him, namely, that he should not be landed in England, but conveyed forthwith to St. Helena, and that he should not be allowed any other rank than that of a *General*. He listened to the reading of the letter of Lord Melville without impatience or surprise, and on being asked to state if he had any reply, he began with great calmness of manner and mildness of countenance to declare that he solemnly protested against the orders which had been read, and refused to be sent as a prisoner to St. Helena. He expressed his wish rather to die than to be sent thither. He also complained much of the title which they had given him—General Bonaparte—and insisted upon his right to be considered as a sovereign prince. But to one in his situation it was useless to complain—he had now only to submit.

Napoleon, at last, received in quiet the intimation that Admiral Sir George Cockburn was ready to receive him on board the *Northumberland*, and to convey him to St. Helena. The fallen emperor was permitted to select four officers, together with his surgeon, and twelve domestics to attend him. He selected Counts Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, and General Gourgaud, and for his surgeon Dr. O'Meara, whom he found on the *Bellerophon*. Bertrand and Montholon were accompanied by their respective countesses and their children.

On the 7th of August Napoleon was transferred from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, and on the following morning they sailed for St. Helena, where they arrived on the 15th of October, 1815.

The orders of government had been that Napoleon should remain on board until a suitable residence could be provided for him, but as he had become weary of shipboard, Sir George Cockburn undertook upon his own responsibility to land his passengers, and to provide for the security of Napoleon's person.

The island at that time afforded little accommodation

for such a guest, with the exception of Plantation-house, the country residence of the governor, which, however, was expressly prohibited from being assigned as the residence of the fallen emperor. Sir George Cockburn made choice of Longwood, a country-house occasionally occupied by the lieutenant-governor, as suitable, from its particular situation, to be extended so as to afford such accommodation as was sufficient for a captive of the rank at which Napoleon was rated by the British government. This situation was also approved of by Napoleon himself, and, until the necessary alterations could be made, he took up his residence at a small house, or cottage, called the Briars, romantically situated at a little distance from James Town, in which he could only have one spare room for his accommodation.

On the 9th of December Longwood received Napoleon and part of his household, and a space of about twelve miles in circumference was traced off, within which Napoleon might take exercise without being attended by anyone. Beyond that boundary a chain of sentinels was placed to prevent his passing, unless accompanied by a British officer. He was also permitted to extend his excursions to any part of the island, providing the officer was in attendance, and near enough to observe his motions. Sir George Cockburn, in conceding such an extensive space for the convenience of his prisoner, took every precaution which the peculiarity of the island presented to prevent the possibility of escape.

In April, 1816, Sir George Cockburn was superseded in his anxious and painful office by Sir Hudson Lowe, who remained governor of St. Helena, and had the charge of Napoleon's person until his death. The conduct of this officer has been much censured by various writers, but considering the very important duty he had to fulfil, and the personal dislike which Napoleon exhibited towards him from the first, and the offensive manner in which he was treated by him, it was not to be wondered that the governor should refuse to submit to

it. It seemed that every circumstance, whether of business or of etiquette, which occurred at St. Helena, was certain to occasion some dispute betwixt Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe, the progress and termination of which seldom passed without an aggravation of mutual hostilities. It was necessary that the greatest vigilance should be exercised, which could not be accomplished without giving offence to the haughty mind of Napoleon, and rather than submit to the restraints which were imposed, he often chose to seclude himself; and it cannot be doubted but that the constant irritation in which he kept himself towards the governor was a principal means of shortening his life.

During the five years and seven months that he lived in the island of St. Helena, few circumstances occurred to vary the melancholy tenor of his existence. His habits of life were of the most regular and simple character; he never took more than two meals a-day, and concluded each with a cup of coffee. He generally breakfasted about ten o'clock, and dined at eight. He preferred plain food, and ate plentifully and with an apparent appetite. A very few glasses of claret, scarce amounting to an English pint, which he chiefly drank during the time of dinner, completed his meal. He sometimes drank champagne; but his constitutional sobriety was such that a large glass of that wine would have brought the colour to his cheek; and it may be truly said that few men were ever less influenced by the appetites which are peculiar to man than Napoleon. He was exceedingly particular as to the neatness and cleanliness of his person, and this habit he preserved to his death.

It had been generally stated, so early as 1817, that the health of Napoleon had become impaired, and he himself made use of it as a reason for obtaining more indulgence; but as his illness was not then apparent, it was only considered one of the many complaints he was in the habit of making to annoy the governor.

But it is probable that even at that period he felt the symptoms of that internal malady which consumed his life—a cancer in the stomach. Towards the end of 1820 the symptoms of his disease increased, the disorganization in the digestive powers became more and more apparent, and his reluctance to take any medicine, as if from an instinctive persuasion that the power of physic was in vain, continued as obstinate as ever. From this time his health began seriously to decline, and his mind became more and more depressed. He often remained silent for many hours, suffering, as may be supposed, much pain, and immersed in profound melancholy. About the end of January, 1821, he appeared to resume some energy, and made some attempt to overcome the disease by exercise, but he found himself unequal to the effort and that his strength was rapidly sinking under him. In the month of March the disease assumed a character still more formidable, and on the 3rd of May it was seen that the life of Napoleon was drawing evidently to a close. The last sacraments of the Church were then administered by Vignali. He lingered on in a delirious stupor until the 5th, and about six in the evening he breathed his last.

The gentlemen of Napoleon's suite were desirous that his heart should be preserved and given to their custody. But Sir Hudson Lowe did not feel himself at liberty to permit this upon his own authority. He agreed, however, that the heart should be placed in a silver vase, filled with spirits, and interred along with the body; so that in case his instructions from home should so permit, it might be afterwards disinterred and sent to Europe.

A grave was prepared in a small secluded recess, called Slane's or Haine's Valley, where a fountain arose at which his Chinese domestics used to fill the silver pitchers which they carried to Longwood for Napoleon's use. The spot had more of verdure and shade than any in the neighbourhood; and the illustrious Exile was

often accustomed to repose under the beautiful weeping willows which overhung the spring. The body, after lying in state in his small bedroom, during which time it was visited by every person of condition in the island, was, on the 8th of May, carried to the place of interment. The pall which covered the coffin was the military cloak which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo. The members of his late household attended as mourners, and were followed by the governor, the admiral, and all the civil and military authorities of the island. All the troops were under arms upon the solemn occasion. As the road did not permit a near approach of the hearse to the place of sepulture, a party of British grenadiers had the honour to bear the coffin to the grave. The prayers were recited by the priest, Abbé Vignali. Minute-guns were fired from the admiral's ship. The coffin was then let down into the grave under a discharge of three or five volleys of artillery, from fifteen pieces of cannon. A large stone was then lowered down on the grave, and covered the moderate space now sufficient for the man for whom Europe was once too little.

But so Napoleon's remains were, by permission of the British government, removed to Paris, and on December 1st were re-interred in the chapel of the Hôtel des Invalides, to which they were conveyed on a splendid bier, escorted by a grand military procession.

THE END.

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